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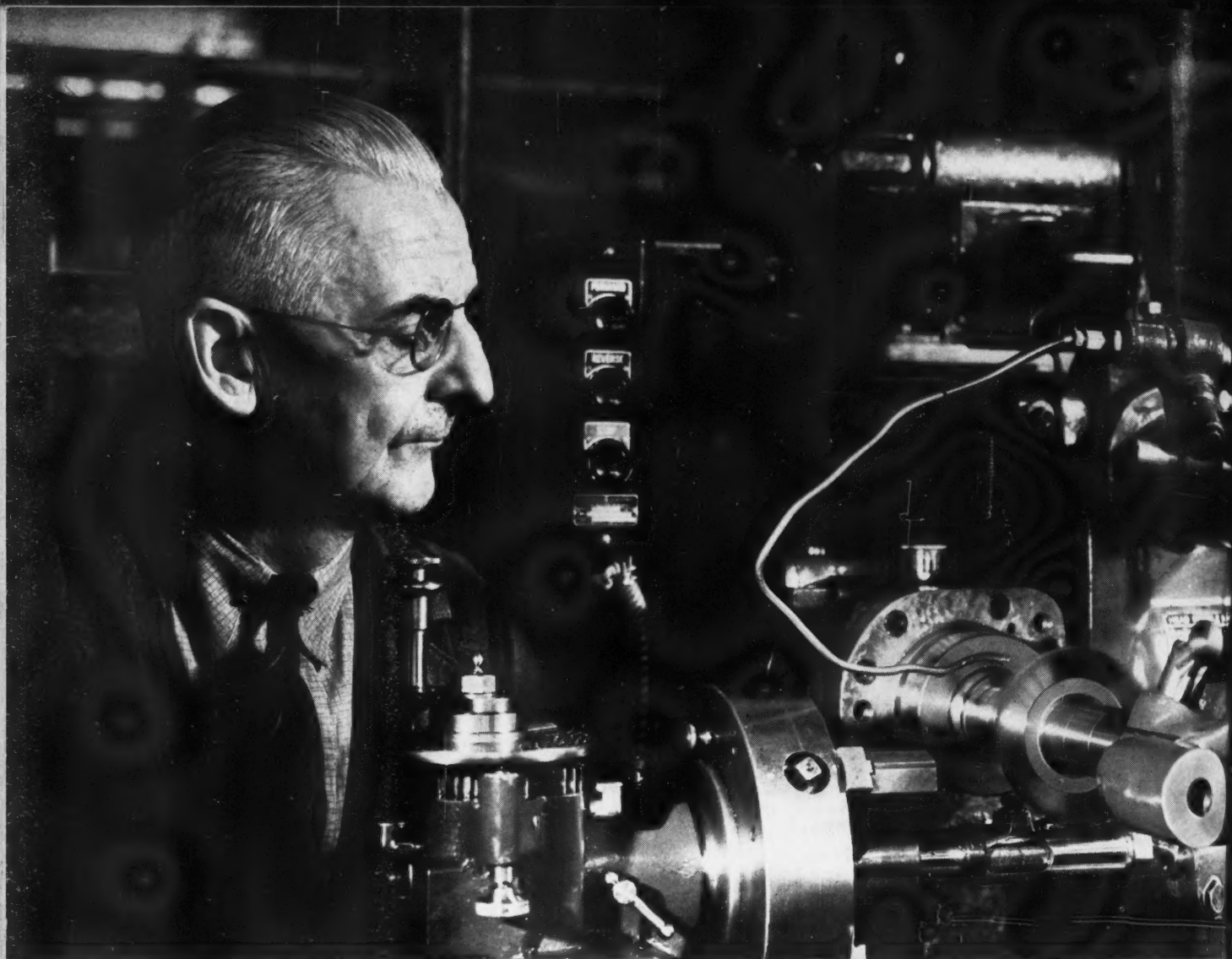
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GENERAL ELECTRIC

1938—OUR SIXTIETH YEAR OF ELECTRICAL PROGRESS—1938

★ Perhaps Eduard Benes, who occupies the cover spot this month (Underwood & Underwood) is not enjoying the Spring weather as much as some of his contemporaries. For it is his nation that has finally been caught in the nut-cracker of German expansion. **Henry C. Wolfe**, veteran correspondent, author of the recently published book, *The German Octopus*, this month examines Czechoslovakia.

★ **Lawrence Fernsworth** has enlisted in the Spanish War for its duration. However, in place of a death-dealing firearm, he carries a typewriter. And it is such a talented machine that the *London Times*, the *New York Times*, and *Current History* are more than pleased to have it operated in their service.

★ Nothing under the sun is sacred in these days of bombs and bayonets. Even the American Medical Association is suffering the pains of scepticism. **Howard Stephenson**, former editor of the *American Druggist*, has something interesting to say concerning the rebels who are inducing numerous headaches in the A.M.A.'s inner sanctum.

★ It has been suggested, that in the advent of a war with the United States, the Canadian Army might concentrate upon cutting off the newsprint supply of the *New York Times*. It is a bold suggestion, and one which should cause some concern among editorial writers. However, **David Martin** assures us nothing will come of it. For he has traveled from one end of Canada to the other seeking, among other things, some indication of what Canada will do if the British Government becomes involved in a European war.

★ It is not reassuring to know that once on the operating table, with the anesthesia cone poised above your nose, it is less than an even bet the ether will kill you. According to both **Doctor Norman W. Burritt** and **Howard Watson Ambruster** the medical profession is faced with an amazing crime wave. And it is crime of a sort that has become familiar to the citizens in the past few years. It is the mercenary crime of highly respectable persons engaged in the manufacture of medical supplies. Of course, not all are guilty. Dr. Burritt is Chairman of the Special Investigating Committee on Food and Drug Legislation of The State Medical Society of New Jersey. And Mr. Ambruster is the author of numerous articles on medicine.

★ **James A. B. Sherer** is supposed to be the best informed writer on things Japanese. He has lived in the Orient many years, and is the author of *Japan Defies the World*. Although he is the recipient of the Emperor's medal for outstanding service to Japan, Mr. Sherer is not a hired propagandist.

(Continued on page 62)

CURRENT HISTORY

JUNE 1938

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The World Today in Books

IT IS something less than a secret that Mussolini was once an ardent socialist and that in his redder-than-the-rose days he led the Italian proletariat parade with a zest and a flair that warmed the hearts of appreciative Marxists the world over. Some of the Duce's pleas for the overthrow of the bourgeois by the workers are a matter of preserved record. But many more have been withdrawn from public inspection or destroyed entirely by their originator. Mussolini lost no time after ringing up the curtain on fascism to burn his socialist bridges behind him. That he has not made a very good job of it is evident in Gaudens Megaro's *Mussolini in the Making*. For Mr. Megaro, after applying a little diligence and intelligence to his investigation, found material sufficient for "perhaps fifty volumes."

In resurrecting the Duce's past, Mr. Megaro has hardly suffered from an impulse to spare Mussolini any embarrassment arising out of a simple, honest, and straightforward account of his early life. After collecting the Mussoliniana—both in and out of Italy—the author assorted, correlated, and condensed his material into the present book, which is concerned almost entirely with Benito's pre-dictatorship career. It is a revealing book, frequently a startling one. Who, for example, would credit the bolshevik-baiting Duce with this meaty Marxism: "Socialism has spread among all the peoples of the world; it is the soul of contemporary thought in all its finest philosophical and artistic manifestations; it has rehabilitated man, substituting for the evangelical idea of renunciation the revolutionary idea of conquest . . . it is the sole, the great, the luminous hope of all the oppressed! O innumerable writers of the entire reactionary press, how you seem microbes when you speak to us about the end of socialism!" This is but one of hundreds of Mussolini's tangy toasts to his hoped-for workers' revolution. Once, speaking before laborers during

the general strike in Italy in 1904, he reminded them that "only without a struggle without quarter are the partial conquests of today and the final victory of tomorrow made possible!"

As a member of a minority group in 1914, Mussolini was strong on civil liberties: "Imagine," he said to a court considering a case involving a minority, "an Italy in which thirty-six million citizens should all think in the same way as though their brains were cast in the same mould and you would have the kingdom of boredom and imbecility . . . It is necessary that beside those who say no there be those who say yes, that beside those who exalt the army there be those who decry it, and that beside those who acclaim bourgeois society there be those who wish to destroy this bourgeois society . . . unanimity, uniformity mean acephaly, death. Gentlemen of the jury, pay homage to the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, the melancholy man of Ephesus, who declared: 'Strife is the origin of all things.' Well then, allow us to struggle, give us the liberty to struggle, and you will render homage to a very great principle: the principle of liberty!"

Strange words for the founder of fascism? Not so strange when it is understood that Mussolini had a penchant for political extremities, revolutionary or reactionary, black or red. He was inconsistent in his ideologies, consistent in his burning ambition for power. The color of the flag was not as

important as the assurance that he would carry it: "With him," says Mr. Megaro, "as with so many men of action, the utterance of an idea and the conviction that he alone can be its standard-bearer are inseparable."

The First Fascist has been bothered little by his conscience, which he once defined as a pair of breeches that can be lowered as may be deemed necessary. He has scorned the human rights he pretended to champion before he came into power; he has allied himself with his former enemies—personal and political. As for the people—the same people whose individualism he used to glorify—he has poured them into a huge machine which cuts them into the same mould and turns them out as arm-raising, uniform-wearing, war-loving yesmen.

A logical question in considering Benito Mussolini's change in political coloration is whether, like the late Huey Long, he made his appeals to the people on the basis of pie-in-the-sky promises and hoped to ride into power on the wave of demagoguery. Yet it is clear from Mr. Megaro's book that Benito was more rabid revolutionist than rabble rouser. What he said, wrote and did in his socialist days showed him to be dialectician, not demagogue. The Duce was a keen student of history and philosophy; he wrote with an extremely sensitive pen, sensitive to the needs of humanity and showed the unmistakable strain of intellectualism.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>Mussolini in the Making</i>	Gaudens Megaro	Houghton, Mifflin	\$3.50
<i>Burgos Justice</i>	Luis Vilaplana	Alfred A. Knopf	2.00
<i>The Culture of Cities</i>	Lewis Mumford	Harcourt, Brace	5.00
<i>The Big City</i>	Robert Sinclair	Reynal, Hitchcock	3.00
<i>America Goes to War</i>	Charles C. Tansill	Little, Brown	5.00
<i>Our Country, Our People, and Theirs</i>	M. E. Tracy	Macmillan	1.75
<i>Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel</i>	C. Vann Woodward	Macmillan	3.75

Our Country, Our People, AND THEIRS

By
M. E.
TRACY



A Southerner Discovers the South

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

A tour of the South today reported on by a brilliant young Southern liberal, editor of the Raleigh (N.C.) *News and Observer*. Moving from state to state, Mr. Daniels chats with negroes, mountaineers, governors and poor whites. The result is neither an apology for nor a hymn to the South, but a sane and witty evaluation of its present and future. \$3.00

The Canadians

G. M. WRONG

"The Story of A People" by an eminent historian who has made Canada his especial field.

In a sensitive and interesting style, he covers here the whole story of how our great northern neighbor came to be. \$3.50

Japan in China

T. A. BISSON

An authoritative summary of Sino-Japanese relations since the conquest of Manchuria.

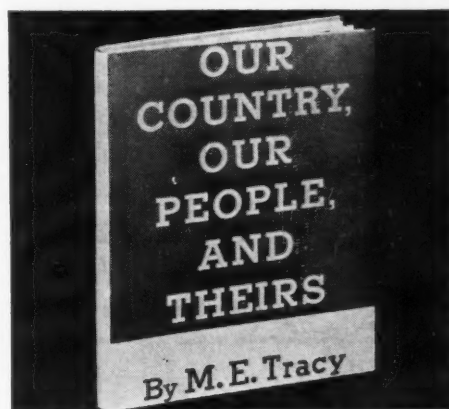
The author was for ten years Far East correspondent for the Foreign Policy Association. \$3.00

(Some prices, tent.)

TO WHAT extent, if any, has the superstate demonstrated its superiority over democracy? To what extent has it promoted common happiness more effectively?

This book provides graphic answers to such questions, presenting pertinent, concise yet complete information in a new form which gives immediate and clear pictures of comparative living and working conditions in Germany, Italy, Russia and the United States.

The author is editor and publisher of *Current History*. \$1.75



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In the end, it was not socialism but Mussolinism that triumphed in Italy. When he split with the party during the World War over the issue of participation his thirst for revolutionary leadership did not die. It would have to be another type of revolution, one which would belong all to Benito. Fascism became the device by which he "hoped to make a mark on history with my will, like a lion with his claws." Mussolini the individualist met Mussolini the humanist at the crossroads of fascism and socialism and went marching off to the extreme right.

If there is a fault with Mr. Megaro's work, it is that he put down his pen too soon. *Mussolini in the Making* is so significant, so valuable that it produces a strong appetite for a continued consideration of Mussolini-already-made. The book shows a healthy disregard for personal prejudice; its author has carefully examined his subject's early career with an eye not to derogation nor glorification but to actual history. Mr. Megaro is an historian, and, what is fortunate from the reader's viewpoint, an interesting one. His book belongs on any shelf containing G. A. Borgese's *Goliath: The March of Fascism* or Gaetano Salvemini's *Under the Axe of Fascism*.

Barbarism in War

An English Peer stood up in the House of Lords last December and charged that Ruiz Vilaplana, author of *Burgos Justice*, a book attacking the supposedly orderly Franco government in Spain, is an embezzler, a swindler, and a man who had deserted his wife and children to live with a variety artiste in Burgos. These are strong words, even for a Noble Lord. No documentary evidence, however, has been furnished to support these allegations, which, even if true, do not detract from what *Burgos Justice* has to say about the Franco regime. The material here is too complete, too well-authenticated to be lightly discounted. It is an account of the author's life in Burgos, Rebel Spain, where he held the post of Commissioner of Justice. Its message is that there is little basis in fact for the belief that insurgent territory in Spain is free of any or all terroristic activities, that peace and security prevail everywhere, and that the people are solidly pro-Franco.

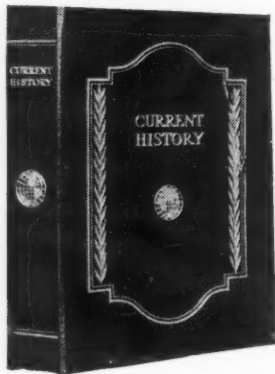
When the war broke out, Vilaplana went along with Franco. He had no fixed political views but he looked upon the Moroccan revolutionist as the leader of a necessary crusade. He had a number of civil and judicial duties, checking up on other officers, certifying the finding of dead bodies, investigating charges of theft, etc. He writes of the local prison camp:

Every night—every morning—a few poor wretches are taken from their cells and handed over to the bearers of the dreaded lists. Those "chosen" were handcuffed and taken two at a time to motor buses which were all ready for them, and so were conveyed, in grisly procession, to face the firing squad. . . . The sufferings of the men imprisoned there is appalling and the uncertainty and moral torture is a hundred times worse than any physical ill-treatment.

Although the Left-wing movement in Burgos was virtually non-existent and the people offered no resistance against the military rebellion, hundreds were killed, with or without suspicion of Loyalist sympathies. The regular Burgos authorities were unable to maintain law and order, realizing that they were expected to close their eyes to looting and terroristic activities by the military. Secret shootings, inspired by Rebel leaders, continued long after Franco had served notice to the world that life went on in Rebel Spain as if there were no war at all.

As a matter of fact, says Vilaplana, life was such that he could not tolerate the continuous crime and barbarity:

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"My nerves had been completely shattered by what I had seen—and supplied by a testimony which was irrefutable." Moreover, it was no longer a Spanish revolution. The Italians and Germans—outsiders and real enemies of Spain—had appropriated the war for their own.

On June 30, 1937, he crossed over into French territory. He was neither pursued nor disguised (he is sorry that he cannot provide a "heroic and spectacular ending" to his story). He is anxious now to serve Loyalist Spain, believing that it is the *real* Spain and represents the will of the Spanish people.

War is not child's play and it is to be expected, though not condoned, that there will be a generous exhibition of terrorism behind the front lines. What cannot be condoned, however, is a barbarism far greater than can ever be justified under the circumstances of war, especially when the perpetrators make the assertion that none exists. As to whether there may be similarly extreme manifestations of barbarism on the other side is by no means a vindication or justification of Rebel horrors but a subject for careful investigation.

The Story of the City

If there is an aspect of city life that has been overlooked in Lewis Mumford's *The Culture of Cities*, this department has not found it. Mumford, extending the study of the possibilities of a truly "civilized" society considered in his *Technics and Civilization*, has written a biography of the city from medieval times up to the present. With a thoroughness that is admirable, though sometimes annoying because it

appears inhumanly thorough, he examines the development of the city with almost microscopic care.

Mumford describes the city of today as a "geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theatre of social action, and an esthetic symbol of collective unity. On one hand it is a physical frame for the commonplace domestic and economic activities; on the other, it is a consciously dramatic setting for the more significant actions and the more sublimated urges of a human culture." A new type of design is needed, he says, one that will give the city a fuller and warmer social meaning. Town planning can be eventually handled in a routine manner, thus releasing greater energy and economic support for the arts, for painting and sculpture, drama and music. This should have more importance, he adds, than "sanitation and sewage and the studious habits of antisepsis."

What he sees, then, is a future for cities in which the physical problems will have adequate machinery for their routine solution, coincident with a concentration upon cultural forms: "Psychological growth is more important than somatic satisfaction; and in designing cities we must provide an environment broad enough and rich enough never to degenerate into a 'model community.'" Now that the machine age is running its course, this new conception of the role of a city has strong possibilities of finding full expression. "None of us," he concludes, "may live to see the complete building, but some of us will see the flag or the fir tree that the workers will plant aloft in ancient ritual when they cap the topmost story."

(Continued on page 62)

Questions and Answers

Answers on Page 62

1. To what country do the Balearic Islands belong?
2. In what sea are the Balearic Islands located?
3. What is the largest island of the Balearic group?
4. What country controls Majorca at this time?
5. Why are the Balearic Islands considered of such great importance from a military standpoint?
6. Who is President of Spain?
7. What are the two largest cities in Spain?
8. Is Zaragossa the name of a city or province in Spain?
9. Where is Formosa?
10. Excluding Australia, what is the largest island in the world?
11. What word is out of place in the following names of winds—chinook, monsoon, typhoon, tycoon, pampero?
12. Who, or what, are the Cagoulards?
13. Who is President of the Ford Motor Company?
14. Who is Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee?
15. Identify the following: William Henry Harrison; Benjamin Harrison; Carter Harrison.
16. Who is Governor of the State of Ohio?
17. In what activity did Martin L. Davey become famous before entering politics?
18. Who is Davy Jones?
19. What does the Byrnes Law prohibit?
20. Would you say that Vatican City is larger or smaller than Washington (D.C.), in area?



● With LaFollette in the field, where will the New Deal turn? Left? Or Right?

● The old gang is gone. You know about Tugwell and Moley and Peek and Richberg. But do you know about Ben Cohen? Jerome Frank? Leon Henderson? Mordecai Ezekiel? James Fly? Gardiner Means? Robert H. Jackson? Jimmy Roosevelt? Isidor Lubin? Tommy Corcoran?

● Do you know whose advice the President is taking? Who will face who in the coming struggle between "trust-busters" and "planners"? If you don't, you will want to read

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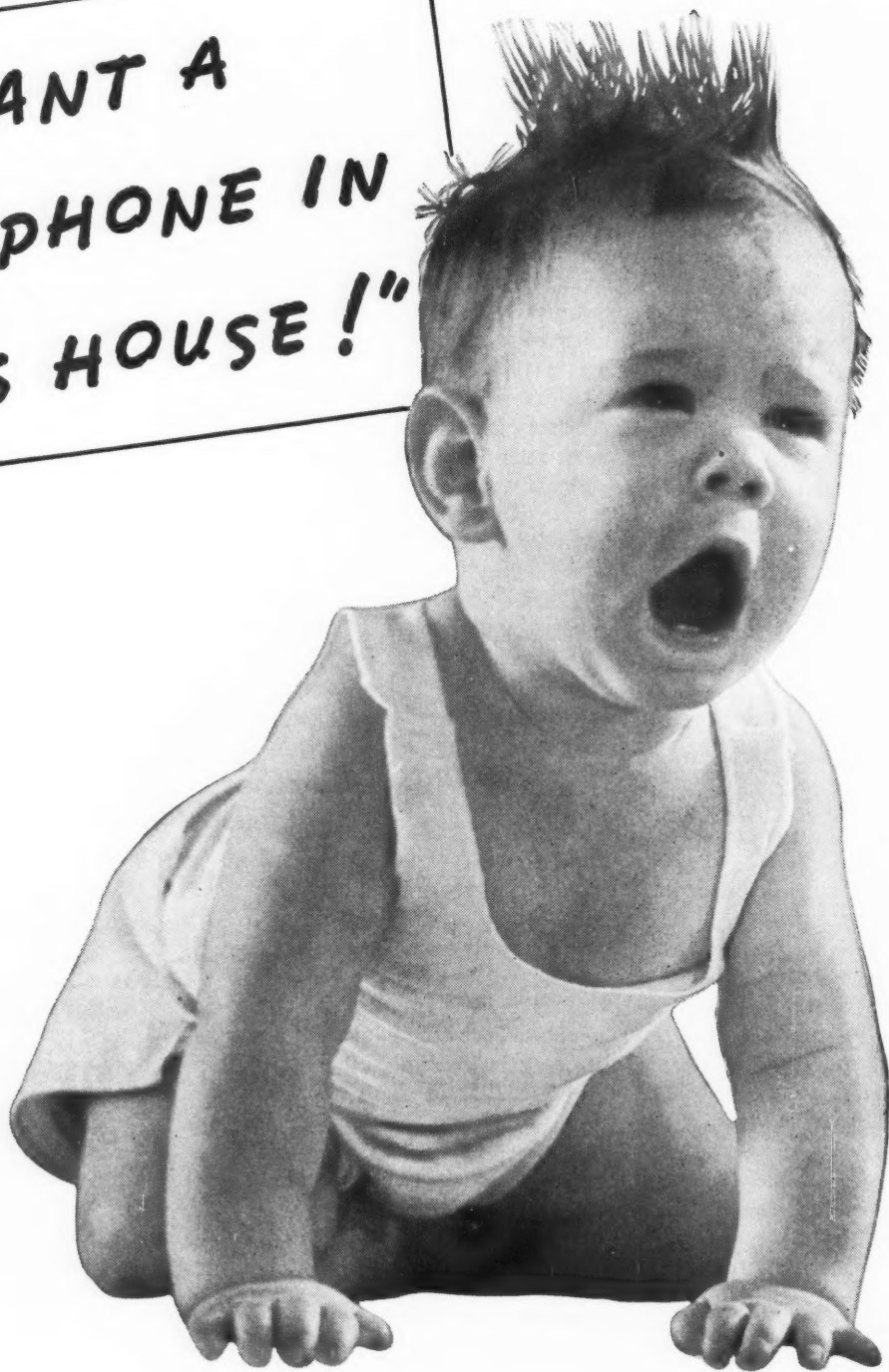
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"Or suppose a pipe bursts in the bathroom? Or a burglar comes along? When something like that happens you don't write a letter, or go after help on horseback. No, sir. You hop to a telephone!

"And what about my mother? She's got marketing to do. Sometimes she needs to get in touch with Dad during the day. And there are errands to be run. Well, she can't do all those things without a telephone . . . and at the same time give me the attention I expect.

"All Dad needs to do to have a telephone is get in touch with the Business Office. I'd do it myself if I could just get out. But I can't. So is it any wonder that worry is keeping me awake half the day?"

B E L L T E L E P H O N E S Y S T E M



Third Parties

A GAIN, we face the prospect of a third party, which means nothing new or original in American history. The situation is different, of course, because the situation is always different in a restless, progressive country like ours. Both old parties are badly split, which means that each contains sizeable elements of discontent. Most of this discontent finds lodgment in the failure of experimenting and spending to restore prosperity. The Democratic Party is divided as to what should be done next, and the Republican Party is divided as to whether the opposition should be imitative or antagonistic.

Governor Philip La Follette has merely seized a favorable opportunity for launching a third party. Whether he can put it over rests on two simple facts: his own personality and the appeal of such plans and programs as it may adopt. Thus far his pronouncements have been satisfactory but rather vague. More blueprints and specifications will be required for the public to form positive opinions. Meanwhile, the movement appears to be agrarian and midwestern rather than laborite and radical. As a matter of fact, radicals have been virtually told to keep out.

Governor La Follette has said nothing so far to which Thomas Jefferson could not wholeheartedly subscribe. Some of his propositions sound rather reactionary when measured in the light of New Deal philosophy. He is definitely opposed to "coddling" and "spoon-feeding" the American people, for instance, as well as to the idea of creating wealth by the simple art of getting more for doing less.

Labor does not seem to be taking a major part in the parade—especially that section of labor which is supposed to be most politically minded. Nothing has been heard from such leaders as John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, and Homer Martin; neither has anything occurred to suggest that their advice has been followed even if it were asked. Those who looked for a Farmer-Labor coalition are naturally surprised. Maybe their surprise is premature. Maybe a Farmer-Labor coalition is in the making. It does not look that way, however, at this time.

It looks as though the prairie States were in a mood to re-enact their favorite pastime of independent action,

with little change except in the music. It looks as though we might get about what our fathers and grandfathers got from the Greenbackers, the Populists, the Non-Partisan Leaguers, and the Bull-Moosers. If that is so, such organizations as the C.I.O. and the American Labor Party will have to stage their own performance. In this case, the question arises as to whether Governor La Follette and his collaborators can get very far without their help.

In this connection, it is very interesting to recall that we have had many third parties. Few of them have survived more than an election or two. The few that have survived linger on as impotent minorities, with such notable exceptions as the Whig and Republican Parties.

Since the Civil War, most of our third parties have found their chief support in the midwest and have originated in what is generally regarded as the "agrarian movement." Governor La Follette is, to a large extent, a by-product of that movement. His traditions and attitude of mind are not only agrarian, but midwestern. His approach to present-day problems has little in common with that of our industrial centers, and particularly with that section of organized labor which looks to political action. Not only his recent speeches but his career suggests that he has little use for "collectivism," centralization of power, the type of economic planning which would transform the Federal Government into a wet-nurse. He does not believe in the possibility of abundance through subsidized scarcity or in the support of able-bodied men in idleness. His theory of Government spending seems to rest on the assumption that people should be helped to help themselves and no more. This stands out in sharp contrast to the assumption that they should be helped without purpose or program. In some respects, his criticism of the New Deal sounds like that made by former President Hoover. In most respects, it sounds starkly individualistic. In all respects, it swings to the right rather than to the left.

Mc Tracy



SOMEBODY LAUGHED!

Manning in the Arizona Republic

HISTORY IN THE MAKING

PUTTING it bluntly, Europe has reverted to her pre-War attitude; to alliance and counter-alliance, backstairs diplomacy, imperialism, a free-for-all race in armament. The situation turns on two great alliances, just as it did in 1914—the Rome-Berlin axis and the Anglo-French accord. The one great difference is Russia's isolation.

In 1914, the Franco-Russian Pact made her a party to the democratic line-up. A new Franco-Russian Pact is in existence, but it is viewed coldly by the British Tories, while Hitler and Mussolini are bending every effort to break it. Indeed, they are bending every effort to break all pacts and alignments which threaten their respective expansion programs. The entire continent is thus thrown back into just such a maelstrom of intrigue, spying, bribery and secret maneuvering as prevailed twenty-five years ago. Things have become so bad that Switzerland would like to be relieved of the embarrassing task of protecting the League of Nations. They have also become so bad that few of the smaller states are free from the peril of being browbeaten into support of their stronger neighbors, split up, or actually absorbed.

England's Policy

Most Americans find it very difficult to grasp the whys and wherefores of present-day British policy. To begin with, it appears to rest on a definite change of purpose and objective. Only a short time ago, England was most vociferous in protesting against the creation of a Japanese protectorate for Manchuria and Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. Now she is ready to give both her official blessing. Where she once bullied France, the League of Nations and small Mediterranean states into adopting sanctions against Mussolini, the head of her government now extols him as a benevolent genius. Where she formerly opposed a trade agreement between Germany and Aus-

tria, she now accepts Austria's complete absorption by Germany with indifference, if not approval.

Apologists for the present-day British attitude, and all the queer shifts it implies, argue that her leaders have become realistic; that, while striving to maintain peace and uphold democratic ideals, they have found it desirable to adopt a new style of strategy, to substitute kind words and perhaps a little money for blunt, straightforward tactics.

In other words, England has decided to sit in on the European game and play it according to European rules with the time-honored idea of maintaining a balance of power uppermost in mind. So there is a sudden and desperate effort to placate Mussolini, which results in a pact that virtually sanctions his role in Spain, and which rests on the hope that he can be induced to act in less complete accord with Hitler. This hope was somewhat dimmed, if not blasted, by Hitler's six-day visit to Rome early in May. Having been guaranteed what he wanted from England, Mussolini seems satisfied to go along with Germany as usual, and Mr. Chamberlain has the privilege of consoling himself the best he can.

It is disheartening to think that the old Tory crowd, schooled as it has been in the art of diplomacy for centuries, could be out-traded so easily. The Italian pact, however, and its obviously disappointing results, is but one of a long series of faux pas. Since 1932, England can hardly be credited with one successful maneuver in the field of foreign relations. Whether this should be charged to the wrong-headedness of her maneuvering or to lack of sincerity, remains a debatable question. It is a fact, however, that she failed to prevent Japan from erecting the puppet state of Manchuria, though she pretended to try; that she failed to prevent the annexation of Austria, though she pretended to try; that she failed to prevent intervention in Spain, though she pretended to try, and that she failed to prevent disintegration of the League

of Nations, though she pretended to try. British policy during the past five or six years has done more than any other single factor to make Germany the strongest nation in Europe; to place France in an embarrassing position; to weaken the League of Nations beyond recall; to promote an unprecedented race in arms; to recreate the general policy to imperialism, and to strengthen dictatorship as opposed to democracy.

Spain's Plight

The futility of British tactics is illustrated in no place so vividly as in Spain. At the outset, intervention by other countries was to be stopped at any cost. An international committee was formed, largely through British efforts, to accomplish this end. There were many meetings and a lot of noisy propaganda. There were charges, there were accusations and protests galore; there was a general mobilization of navies and an allotment of coasts to guard, but men and money overflowed into Spain by land and sea—not only as usual, but in an ever-increasing volume. In spite of the tumult and shadowboxing, the war turned out to be anything but Spanish. As one irate member of the British Parliament remarked, "The Spaniards ought to be evacuated so that other nations could fight it out in peace on their territory." As in so many other cases, Italy and Germany have won the war in Spain. Unless they are more philanthropic than is commonly supposed, the Spanish people will pay dearly for their services. Academically, it may have been a quarrel between the right and the left, but practically, it has been a quarrel for spoils, for metals, trade advantages and perhaps military concessions.

The outside world and particularly America has been doused with propaganda regarding Spain. Much of it has been written, published and distributed by sympathizers of one faction or the

other outside of Spain. Emphasis has been laid on the political or religious angle. The Loyalists have been charged with Communism, atheism, and ruthless murder; the Nationalists have been charged with Fascism, clerical dominance, and equally ruthless murder. When it comes to the mere killing of non-combatant human beings, both sides have done an excellent job. You cannot find much to choose between



Louisville Times

THE LAST CHAPTER

them when you count the numbers of women and children slaughtered and leave out political or religious evaluations. Both groups have had the help of foreign soldiers. Help for the Nationalists has taken on a more definitely official form. Government forces have been aided by Russians, French, English, expatriated Germans, etc., but they have enjoyed no such official assistance as have the Rebels. Meanwhile, Spain has been riddled, hundreds of thousands of people have been killed, many of them innocent bystanders, and the pay-off will be in tribute to other countries.

Is Czechoslovakia Next?

All eyes are focused on the little republic of Czechoslovakia, created by the Treaty of Versailles to afford protection for minorities and exemplify the workings of democracy. It is an irony of Fate that she should now be threatened by the very minorities that were supposed to find a haven within her borders. Of course, there is something artificial, something manufactured in the picture. The minorities—Germans, Poles and Magyars—are acting through inspiration, if not on orders

from the outside. Their cry is for more autonomy, meaning virtual independence, and if they don't get it, the assumption is that their powerful fatherlands will "protect" them. It is only natural that the German minority in Czechoslovakia should be making the most noise. It is not only the most numerous but it has the most powerful, aggressive and insistent backing.

Poland and Hungary, however, sense the advantage of this technique. If Czechoslovakia is to be sliced up, they want their share. Thus, Herr Hitler is able to cultivate friends and associates where he least expected to find them. Out of this possible coalition for spoils in Czechoslovakia, there may develop an anti-Russian coalition.

Russia's Silence

Russia must be aware of what is going on, but if so, she remains surprisingly inarticulate. It is a real mystery that so little should have come out of Moscow with regard to all the plotting and scheming in Western Europe. Some people think that it is because of internal weakness that Russian authorities are afraid to take a stand, afraid of their army, afraid of their leaders, afraid of the rank and file. There may be another explanation. It is not impossible that Russia finds the Coolidge method advantageous, and is proceeding on the theory that what other people don't know regarding her attitude or plans is of real benefit. Besides that, and in spite of all the propaganda and demands for revolution in other countries, Russia has shown real capacity for keeping out of trouble. She has stood consistently for peace in all her international dealings and has overlooked some rather irritating circumstances—not only in western Europe, but in Asia. And that reminds us of the Orient, where a very real, though still undeclared war, is in progress.

The Far Eastern War

More than a hundred years ago, Napoleon described China as "a sleeping giant" and warned those who awakened her to beware. Progress of the Japanese invasion or, more accurately, perhaps, its lack of progress, justifies speculation as to whether this prediction is about to be fulfilled. At any rate, China appears to be showing unmistakable signs of resurgent vitality. Not only Japan, but the rest of the world,

find an amazing difference between the China of 1938 and the China of 1894. The difference embodies hard-headed efficiency on the battlefield, as well as an aroused national consciousness. This new China is able to mobilize, train and equip huge armies; to produce and move supplies up to the front with reasonable dispatch and, above all else, to offer stubborn resistance.

Win, lose, or draw, China has already done enough to impress the outside world with her ability to organize and fight for self-preservation, while Japan has encountered enough trouble to suffer a distinct loss of prestige. The invasion has proved to be anything but the easy walkover which Japan, and most everybody else for that matter, anticipated. Not only have the Japanese been stopped in several major offences, but they have actually been driven back. Instead of being discouraged by early reverses, the Chinese appear to have gained strength as they retreated. The farther Japanese forces penetrate the country, the more perilous their position becomes. Every ex-



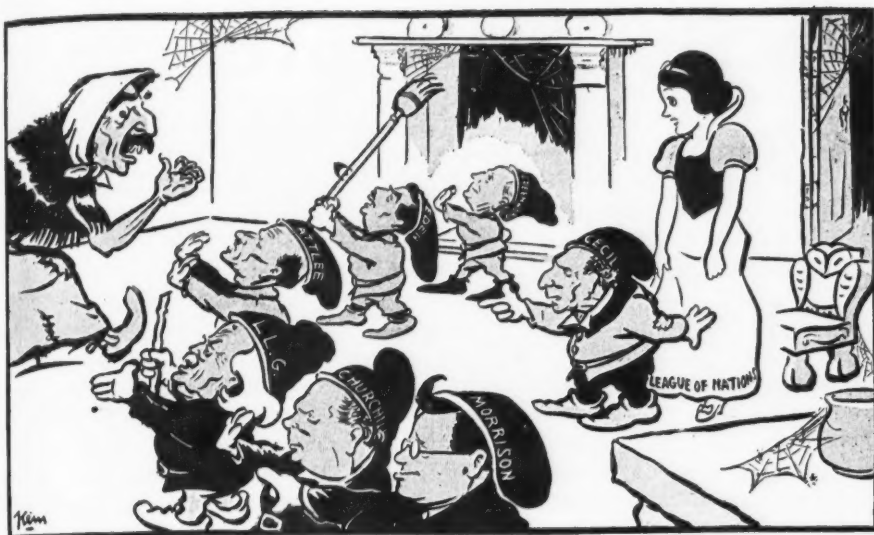
Kladderadatsch, Berlin

DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER: *It must be overwork that causes that pressure at the back of my head and the buzzing in my ears.*

pansion of their lines of communication means opportunity for the numerous and quick-moving guerilla bands which China is mobilizing. The Japanese have not been halted in a permanent sense, but they have run into sufficient difficulties for real anxiety. They have learned enough to know that this is war, not just a punitive expedition.

Neutrality

The Sino-Japanese situation reveals the futile, impractical side of our latest adventure in prescribed neutrality. We have saved not only our faces but the situation by simply forgetting to carry



Daily Herald, London

THE SEVEN DWARFS DEFEND SNOW WHITE

it out. We have discovered a plausible excuse for this course by saying that since war was not declared, there is no war. We might have discovered a similar excuse with regard to the civil war in Spain, but instead, we rendered the Rebels, or Nationalists, substantial assistance by clapping on an embargo. In other words, by insisting on neutrality, we became definitely un-neutral and that seems likely to happen in most cases. The trouble is that you can't be neutral by simply striking a negative attitude; can't assist justice by refusing to take part in human affairs; can't promote peace by sitting on the sidelines while bullies beat up weaklings, or racketeers exact tribute from their helpless victims. The mortal world is not neutral, and neither is civilization or progress.

It is reassuring to learn that President Roosevelt and our State Department seem in a mood to recognize this simple fact.

More Billions For Relief

There is little use in arguing as to whether the government should appropriate more billions for relief. It is necessary, and that's that! The best we might do is to taper it off very gradually, but we can't desert those multitudes who have been forced to depend on the government for their bread and meat. A better scheme might have been chosen in the beginning—though that is debatable—but we have to see this one through. It must come to an end, of course, unless we are prepared to concede the dole for large numbers, but it cannot be brought to an abrupt end.

This experiment, in taking care of able-bodied people without recompense and in providing work for those who cannot get it somewhere else, must be completed. Our only choice is to accept it as a permanent part of our political and economic set-up, or try to get rid of it in a graduated, intelligent way. There are some experiments which can be abandoned about as soon as they are started without great loss or hardship. There are others which must be carried through once they are undertaken.

Our experiment with regard to improving relationships between labor and capital is second only to relief in its cost and implications. In this experiment the predominating idea was

not only to recognize the existence of two opposing factions but to hold them apart for fear that one might corrupt the other. One can only speculate as to whether Abraham Lincoln was right when he said, "A house divided against itself cannot stand."

Easy Ways Out

Like some other experiments, our adventure in prescribed neutrality appeared to be an easy way out. It was in the nature of a sit-down strike on the disagreeable job of trying to distinguish right from wrong. As a matter of fact, much of our experimenting has been in the nature of a sit-down strike. We have paid the farmers to sit down in order to avoid overproduction of certain crops. To a large extent, we have based relief on the idea of sitting down, and we have tried to make ourselves believe that prosperity could be restored by the simple art of getting more for doing less, which is just another way of telling people that they would be better off if they sat down more. During the last five years, we have paid out vast sums to encourage a negative attitude, preaching the gospel of increased consumption through decreased production, of abundance through scarcity, of more good things through less effort, of greater wealth through the manipulation and control of money, of solvency through borrowing and spending.



Glasgow Record

Chamberlain's new policy is described as "shirt-sleeve diplomacy"

LATIN-AMERICAN NOTES

THE first round in the Mexican oil fight was all Cárdenas. The expropriation blow delivered last March sent the two oil titans staggering over the ropes while the world rubbed its eyes in amazement. No one had believed that possible. But the titans, too powerful to take it lying down, are now putting all their might into the second round, which is full of uncertainties. In the meantime the State Department is, to all appearances, doing its best to play referee.

The battle is easily the most significant in modern Latin-American history. *El Nacional* of Mexico City calls it the greatest since the battle for independence from Spain.

"What!" the oil despots of the world roared when 18,000 Mexican workers took control of seventeen American and British oil establishments representing a \$450,000,000 investment. "What do we have governments for? Couldn't they have stopped these peons from stealing our petroleum?" Evidently they couldn't. What the oil despots perhaps do not realize is that from Calles to Cárdenas the world has stumbled from one age into another. And Cárdenas has been aware of it.

But apparently Cárdenas did not intend to leave his corner of the ring so soon. There was an unforeseen turn of events early in March that prompted him to sign the expropriation decree when the general expectation was receivership. The story of the sudden move that struck Ambassador Daniels like "a bolt from the blue" has not been written, *malgré* hundreds of columns of dispatches from Mexico City. As late as March 7 Cárdenas was still offering the oil companies some concessions to help them meet the wage increases, and they turned them down.

Cárdenas has said that the Mexican government was "compelled" to expropriate. Compelled by what? Among his public statements on this matter in the Mexican press we find one that may help to reconstruct the story of expropriation. Besides saying that the companies had refused to accept the processes of Mexican justice by merely declaring their financial inability to do so, he discloses "a sordid international campaign" undertaken by the oil interests "to hurt Mexico's economic life and frustrate the measures adopted by the Mexican authorities." He adds that he had mentioned the fact to the

manager of one of the companies, who "had not denied it." The withdrawal of liquid funds from Mexico was part of this drive. Cárdenas also said that the intended stoppage of oil production would have paralyzed domestic transportation and endangered the government's very existence.

The oil fight has upset Mexican economy. The breakdown of the peso that, following expropriation, fell from the 27.77-cent level at which it had been pegged to the dollar since 1932 to between 22 and 23 cents, is crippling Mexican business. The metallic reserve of the Bank of Mexico has shrunk from \$32,000,000 at about the time of expropriation to \$23,000,000 on April 29.

As Mexico has at present no cash to pay compensation for the expropriated interests, and oil will remain its greatest card in foreign trade, the paramount question is—will she be able to sell her oil? Upon her ability to sell her oil depends to a large extent the success of expropriation and the readjustment of her economic life with a nationalized petroleum industry.

Rumors of oil sales have circulated by the millions of barrels in the past few weeks—much of it propaganda barrelage. Japan was to buy 500,000 barrels . . . oh, no, more than that—\$16,000,000 worth of oil. Mexico had given Japan a concession "to improve" the Mazatlan harbor that would enable the Japanese to send an army . . . of workers into Mexico. Now Germany was negotiating to grab all of the oil production. Mysterious Mr. Rickett returned with a 25,000,000-barrel rumor from his first trip to Mexico. Soon after his second trip, when he went back there "to see the Mexican ruins," the newspapers snatched his contract and the deal was off. But next day he secured a 15,000,000-barrel headline. During his recent visit to New York the Mexican Finance Minister Suarez was reported to have been negotiating "with little success" for the sale of oil and the chartering of tankers.

The head of the Mexican National Petroleum Board denied on April 21 that contracts had been made for the sale of oil abroad. It seems that up to this writing the Mexican government has disposed only of a negligible amount, estimated at 250,000 barrels during the first four weeks. Most of the wells have been reported shut in, and the rate of production in the ex-

propriated establishments is said to be 25 per cent of the former rate.

Mexico has not been able to organize international selling. But how could she, when the companies she is fighting against control all but 17 per cent of the world tanker tonnage and even this "free" tonnage may be made inaccessible to her?

Seen from within Mexico, this fight is a crusade for economic liberation—in Cárdenas' words, a fight "to end forever economic and political domination by the petroleum companies." The Mexican people have given Cárdenas a thunderous O.K., and stand behind him. A few days after the decree was signed a million people paraded throughout Mexico celebrating expropriation with flags flying and bands playing, and now a 100,000,000 peso domestic loan is to provide the government with needed funds and help pay for the nationalized oil interests.

Cárdenas' political position has been strengthened by the organization of the new Party of the Mexican Revolution which has come to supersede the PNR (National Revolutionary Party), and in which workers, peasants, soldiers and various other groups including women's organizations, small tradesmen, professionals and the lower middle classes are represented.

Liberal Adjustment

The United States government's position, as defined by Secretary Hull's note of March 29, is in line with the Rooseveltian attitude that placed Latin-American policy on a liberal plane for the first time since the United States became a world power. Recognition of the Mexican Government's sovereign right to expropriate property of foreigners would not have been possible twenty or ten years ago. However, only the course of events can tell whether the Administration will maintain an attitude that has earned President Roosevelt universal respect in the western hemisphere, for Mexico is facing heavy odds, and this fight will put that policy to its most serious test.

Caught between the good-neighbor and non-intervention commitments, on one side, and the oil interests' demands, on the other, the State Department seems to be seeking some sort of an adjustment. But seeking an adjustment between the oil interests and Mexico may really be trying to recon-

cile two irreconcilable ages in economic evolution. While Mexico wants to put an end to its economic "colonial status," the oil companies would like to see Roosevelt scrap non-intervention, and pick up the big stick. On April 1 they requested the State Department to take steps to prevent the sale and movement in international trade of crude oil and its products derived from its seized properties.

Will the companies accept compensation? The reported State Department's position is that the companies are entitled to claim compensation only to the extent of their actual investments in Mexico. It does not favor claims based on prospective profits. As Mexico is notoriously unable to pay fully in cash there always remains an open door for the companies to demand action later on for the return of the oil properties if the terms of the Mexican indemnity payments are not satisfactory. The United States government seems to have suggested also an agreement by which the companies would take over the marketing of Mexican oil, and perhaps supervise operations, deducting from its sales whatever amount is owed to them for expropriation. No doubt many other suggestions could be made, but the Mexican government's attitude toward any of them will probably depend upon the effect of the extra-diplomatic drive the oil interests are carrying on at present against Mexico.

Higher tariffs against Mexican products, the severing of diplomatic relations with Mexico, the withdrawal of recognition from Cárdenas and other friendly measures have been suggested by inspired editorial writers as a means of "exerting pressure" upon Mexico. The only thing they have not suggested is the sending of an army into Mexico, but that is in their minds.

Silver Reprisal

Following right after expropriation, suspension of Mexican silver-buying by the United States Treasury came as a reprisal. The Mexican government announced then that it would put its silver on the world market, and as the U. S. Treasury buys "all the silver that is offered," it may now be buying second-hand Mexican silver. In fact, two weeks after the suspension of silver-buying it developed that the U. S. Treasury had bought white metal from Mexico even though Secretary Morgenthau "didn't know where it came from, and did not care." In the week ending April 22 U.S. imports of

Mexican silver were valued at \$480,991.

The queerest note in the expropriation howl was His Majesty's angry note. As a rule, British diplomacy never writes angry notes, for it prides itself on having removed emotion from the handling of international affairs. Something beastly provoking, besides expropriation, must have happened. We are wondering whether Aguila and Poza Rica have thrown British dip-



El Machete

LAZARO CÁRDENAS

lomacy into a blind alley, for no matter how much Standard and Shell share their hate for insolent, backward countries that want to nationalize somebody else's oil, they are still rivals. Mexican and Venezuelan oil has great strategic value to Great Britain and Shell may not come with flying colors out of the present tangle in which not only the fate of the British stake in Mexico, but control of Mexican oil distribution are being decided.

Of course, if the United States is not willing to force Mexico to return the expropriated establishments to British interests, as seems to be the case, His Majesty's government is at freedom to bring this international affront before the League of Nations.

Coming Events

While Mexicans are singing "economic liberation!" the oil interests are shouting "stolen goods!" President Farish of the Standard Oil of New Jersey was reported the other day to have said that the affected companies were "not disposed to stand idly and see their properties confiscated." And, indeed, they are not standing idly, for at this moment they are engaged in a

vast drive to isolate Mexico economically into submission.

With the help of allied interests, they are carrying out a financial and monetary boycott of Mexico that really began months before expropriation with the heavy suction of liquid funds from that country, and that seeks to paralyze Mexican international business. Mexico is feeling the effects now. Controlling most of the tanker tonnage, they are maintaining an effective boycott against the marketing of Mexican oil. They threaten prospective purchasers they would "hold them responsible" for any oil thus bought, and take legal steps to recover it. They have tried to divide Mexican labor ranks. They are fighting Mexico with propaganda in the press within and without the United States. They have exhumed weapons that had been buried since the Morrow-Calles pact, and have launched a Hearstian anti-Mexican campaign that pictures Mexico as "Communitic" and a jumping board for Japan.

The issue, as far as the oil interests are concerned, involves not only the matter of possession of a large part of the Mexican oil wealth. An independent Mexican oil production would always be a permanent source of weakness to the interests that control most of the world production. Her oil would be felt in the world markets as Russian oil was in the 'Twenties. If recovery of the properties is not possible, we may see the interests compromising on control without possession.

But if possession and control are not possible, if the present gripping economic boycott of Mexico fails, will the interests fall into the temptation of playing the old game, and fight Mexico's new nationalization policy within Mexico? Economic disruption may bring political turbulence. The reactionary opposition to the Cárdenas regime may be willing to be hired.

Cárdenas seems to have been on his guard. He said in Mexico City the other day that "some groups may take advantage of the present situation to start trouble," but that in such an event the Mexican Army would be "anxious to liquidate" any attempts to disturb peace. And, since expropriation, almost overnight, he has organized a proletarian army, 100,000 strong, far outstripping in size the Regular Army of 55,000, that marched past him on May Day giving the Leftist clenched-fist salute.

GENARO ARBAIZA

WHOSE CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

Surrounded on almost every side by unfriendly neighbors, the Czechs have fought to survive

By HENRY C. WOLFE

FIVE years ago—indeed, only a few months ago—most Americans looked upon Hitler's announced ambitions to build a great Nazi empire as the dreams of a mystic, as the unredeemable promises of an irresponsible politician. Today, few people in any country can doubt the serious purpose of the Fuehrer to carry out the ambitions for a Nazi empire which he outlined years ago in "*Mein Kampf*." His Austrian *Putsch* was part of the carefully prepared long-range Nazi foreign policy.

This man of Napoleonic ambitions is motivated by messianic fanaticism. In his hands rests Europe's peace. In what quarter does he threaten peace first? We cannot answer that question with certainty. For although the longer term plans of Nazi foreign policy are definite, the near term plans are guided by opportunism. It might serve these immediate policies for the Reich to strike at Memel, or to compel Denmark to begin "negotiations" about the Danish province of South Jutland (North Schleswig to the Nazis). But wherever Hitler may stage his next *coup de force*, he will be guided by the political opportunities of the moment; he will be encouraged by the weakness and indecision of his opponents to gamble on another successful *fait accompli*. He will attempt to time his action as astutely as he did when he seized Austria.

But whatever the front that Hitler may choose for his next aggression, there is one country that looms ever larger in Nazi political calculations. Czechoslovakia, that "island of democracy in a sea of dictatorships," is a rock that lies squarely in the road of Pan-German Empire. If this obstacle can be removed from the path of the *Drang nach Osten* without a heavy expenditure of men and money, so much the better. If the Nazis can strangle the Czech democracy, if they can isolate this republic, if they can accomplish the same results as in Austria, German resources can be conserved for more formidable prey. But by one method or another the Czech state must be compelled to bow to the Third Reich.

This article answers the following questions:

1. How many people in Czechoslovakia are neither Czechs nor Slovaks?
 2. How large is the German minority?
 3. Who is Father Hlinka?
 4. What country or countries bordering Czechoslovakia does she regard as friendly?
 5. Who is Petrescu Comnen?
-

Every Nazi from the Fuehrer down to the youngest member of the Hitler *Jugend* is determined to carry out that policy.

Valuable as the Czech loot would be to the Reich, Hitler does not regard conquest of Bohemia as an end, but only as a beginning. The Fuehrer wants the rich oil fields of Rumania; he wants the fertile black earth of the Ukraine; he wants a free hand down the Danube to the Black Sea. But as long as an independent Czechoslovakia exists, the Nazi left flank is exposed to attack. Prague lies athwart that famous "transversal Eurasian axis" that swings southward from Hamburg and points toward the Persian Gulf. Once Czechoslovakia is destroyed or brought under German domination, the road is open to Hitler's drive for world power. France would *ipso facto* become a second rate power; Italy would sink to the class of a third rate nation. And Britain would find that a European balance of power had ceased to exist. On the Continent, only a Russian Colossus—itself threatened by an aggressive Japan—could any longer dispute the challenge of the Teutonic Titan. Armed with Czech industry and food, and aided by an additional three millions of Sudetendeutsch man-power, Hitler would be able to dictate the terms of European "pacification."

The situation involving Czechoslovakia is complicated, easily influenced by political developments in other countries, indeed in other parts of the world. But some factors that may

prove decisive in the coming months will help the reader appraise a problem on which may hang the future of Europe. For if a strong, independent Czechoslovakia survives, Hitler's empire will never pass today's blueprint stage. The Czechs and their little state are as important as all that.

Czechoslovakia's greatest weakness is, of course, inherent in the fact that it is not a homogeneous nation. At least four and a half million of its people are neither Czechs nor Slovaks. In addition to the more than 3,000,000 German minority, there are about 750,000 Magyars, 500,000 Ruthenians and about 100,000 Poles. Probably more than two-thirds of the German minority, nearly all the Magyars and Poles, and some of the Slovaks are irreconcilable minorities. The trend of the minorities away from cooperation with the Czechs has taken on increased impetus since the Nazi conquest of Austria. Two of the small German "Activist" parties that were formerly aligned against the Henlein (Nazi) faction, the Christian Socialists and the Agrarians, have practically joined forces with their National Socialist fellow Teutons in Bohemia. That leaves, at this writing, only the small German Social Democratic party in actual opposition to Hitler's drive in Czechoslovakia.

But perhaps even more disturbing to the Czechs is the autonomist movement that seems to be gaining ground among the Slovaks. Seventy-four year old Father Hlinka, leader of the Slovak Clericals, declared on April 12 that there was nothing left for the Slovaks to do but join forces with the Henleinists and work for autonomy for the various minorities in Czechoslovakia. Although the Polish minority is small, it is the seat of considerable unrest and the focal point of strained relations between Warsaw and Prague. As for the Magyar minority and its influence upon relations between Budapest and Prague, it is hardly necessary to point out that Hungary has never ceased to demand the return of her minority in Czechoslovakia. Indeed, the Hungarians demand the return of all Slovakia.

As long as Austria remained independent, the Czechs could feel that they were not entirely isolated. During the last year of Austria's existence, increasingly cordial relations developed between Vienna and Prague. President Benes and Chancellor Schuschnigg both realized that if the Reich overran either country, the other's position would become all but untenable. The Czechs, therefore, felt bound to support Austria's independence. The "Hodza Plan," a project for Danubian confederation fathered by Czechoslovakia's Premier, was an attempt to create an anti-Nazi group of nations that could block Hitler's path down the Danube.

Czech Mistakes

But unfortunately for the Czechs and Austrians, Prague was late in realizing the necessity of saving Austria from Hitler. The Czechs had listened to over-confident words from the Western capitals. While Hitler drove on toward his Austrian objective, the Czechs hesitated about supporting Archduke Otto; they were uncertain as to what their attitude toward Austrian rearmament should be. Consequently, the Czechs and their French and Little Entente allies made Hitler's success in Austria inevitable. Once the German army was in occupation of Austria, Hitler could threaten Czechoslovakia on its least defensible flank, the Czecho-Austrian border that had not been fortified to resist an attack by the Wehrmacht. Czechoslovakia's principal rail lines now run into enemy territory, where they point toward the Greater Reich, Hungary or Poland. Hitler can dictate to the Czechs what imports and exports may pass over the lines from Germany into Bohemia. He can use the threat of economic strangulation.

Hardly had Hitler presented the world with his Austrian *fait accompli*, before Europe began to hear about renewed trouble between Poles and Czechs, and redoubled Hungarian agitation against their northern neighbor. The influential Polish newspaper, *Express Poranny*, which often voices Government views, warned Czechoslovakia that it "must cease to be the Communist International's Central European rampart. If Prague is not ready to comply," the paper warned, "it must bear full responsibility for the consequences."

The origin of Czecho-Polish hostility goes back a long time before the World War. Poles claim that Czechs approved of Tzarist Russian domination of Poland. Furthermore, the Poles claim that in 1920 when they were fighting

the Soviets, the Czechs refused to permit passage of Polish munitions en route from France through Czechoslovakia. Another element of discord is their dispute over the district of Teschen, a border area that is now part of Czechoslovakia. The Poles charge that Czech soldiers dressed in French uniforms occupied Teschen before the unsuspecting Polish troops in possession of the region became aware of the ruse. The Czechs deny these allegations. Whatever the truth of these charges and counter-charges, the fact remains

"eventualities." Dismemberment of the Czech State and the division of the spoils among Germany, Hungary and Poland is the eventuality these Magyars have in mind.

Germany's Position

And what about the Hungarian attitude toward Germany? Many Magyars, it is true, are uneasy about the increasing Nazi pressure against Hungary, both from within and without. Far-sighted Hungarians like Dr. Tibor



From *The German Octopus*, by Henry C. Wolfe

Main battleground of the German drive to the East. The arrows indicate the three most likely routes from the Reich to the Soviet Union.

that bad blood exists between Warsaw and Prague.

As for the Hungarians, they have never ceased to plan and wait for the day when they could reclaim Hungary irredenta across their northern border. In Budapest they tell you that when Czechoslovakia becomes involved in war, it will suffer from the same minority difficulties experienced by the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy. "In the World War the Czechs betrayed their government," the Hungarians proclaim bitterly. "In the next war they will learn how it feels to be betrayed." Hungarians remind you that in 1919, the Czech army fared none too well at the hands of the untrained, ill-equipped soldiers of the Hungarian Red Army under Bela Kun. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Hungarian Deputy Vegvary stated on April 7 that Czechoslovakia is in a state of decomposition, that the Hungarians must be prepared to take advantage of

Eckhardt, Peasant Party leader, realize that Nazi domination of Hungary is on the Fuehrer's foreign policy agenda. These Magyars know that the Fuehrer has made considerable headway in creating inside Hungary a Nazi "Fifth Column" composed of Swabians and Magyars. They know, furthermore, that Hitler has begun construction of a great military highway that will extend from the old Austro-German frontier by way of Linz to the border of Hungary. They recognize that the Nazis plan to make Hungary merely a small part of Hitler's vast empire of Mitteleuropa, a link to connect the province of Austria with the Rumanian territory that contains the rich oil reserves needed by Hitler. Enlightened Hungarians realize these facts. Nevertheless, the average Magyar is far more obsessed with his hatred of the Czechs than his well-founded fear of the Germans. Hence the Hungarians are playing an important part in the Nazi

THE CZECHS

POSSIBLY one of the most effectively "sensational" stories leaking out around central Europe has been the slowly percolating news of the fact that:

On the evening when the German Army invaded Austria the order to the troops to move was given only after the most anxious and precise German inquiries of the Czech Government as to whether the Czechs would mobilize.

There was certainly one very agitated telephone call to the Czech Foreign Ministry to that effect on that afternoon: and according to an apparently well-authenticated story there were three in all.

In any case it was only after assuring themselves absolutely that Prague was not mobilizing and would not mobilize that the Germans dared to give the order to march—a fact perfectly intelligible to those familiar with the remarkable military strength of the Czechs and their allies, but exceedingly revealing to many in central Europe and elsewhere who are apt to lapse into an hypnotic trance of defeatism the moment the German army is mentioned.

—*The Week*, London

strategy of encircling the Czech republic.

Last September an official of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry said: "After all, we are a member of the League of Nations, a member of the Little Entente; we have an alliance with France and a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union." But much has happened since September. The League's fortunes have not improved; the Soviet Union has become more and more preoccupied with its internal troubles and with the Far Eastern situation; the Little Entente has continued to disintegrate; and France has been plagued with economic problems and cabinet crises. Moreover, the Germans have had an additional eight months in which to carry forward the fortifications of the Rhineland. If France ever tries to go to the aid of the Czechs, the French army must first fight its way through this system of field fortifications that the Wehrmacht has constructed parallel to the famous Maginot line.

Of their 4,125 kilometers of boundaries, the Czechs can look upon only their 201-kilometer border with Rumania as friendly. And no one can be certain how long a Rumania allied with Poland will remain friendly to the Czechs. Much water has flowed under the Rumanian bridge since Nicholas Titulescu directed the kingdom's foreign policies. Gone are the pro-French, pro-Czech, pro-League policies that were formulated by Titulescu in close collaboration with Dr. Benes. Although anything may happen in Rumania, it seems extremely unlikely that the kingdom will soon resume her close ties with Czechoslovakia. Rumania is on the

political fence today. King Carol, attempting to hold his balance and not be pulled off the fence into either of the opposing political coalitions, finds his position precarious. For not only must he keep constantly in mind his country's position in the international field; he must cope with the ruthless underground Fascist organizations in the kingdom and with the opposition of the National Peasant Party and other constitutional opponents. The King's appointment in late March of Petrescu Comnen, former Minister to the Reich, to the post of Foreign Minister, did not, of course, inspire confidence in Prague or Paris. For Dr. Comnen is considered to be pro-German.

Can Germany Wait?

That the Fuehrer can exercise political patience has been proven in Danzig where he has quietly destroyed the anti-Nazi opposition groups and has set up a one-party, totalitarian state. In the so-called Free City, he has perfected the technique of the "parliamentary Putsch"—that is, the strategy of controlling a situation from the inside. Hitler has not marched his army into Danzig. It has not been necessary.

President Benes has long been aware of the Fuehrer's strategy toward Czechoslovakia. "Hitler will not need to go to war if he can win without fighting," he told the writer. If he can break up Czechoslovakia into so-called autonomous units, dictate the republic's economic and foreign policies, hamstring its army and compel it to break its international pacts and alliances, why should he assume the risk inherent in a general war? If the Nazis can create a state within the Czechoslovak

State, they will have gone a long way toward winning domination over their progressive little neighbor.

As long as they receive any substantial measure of support from abroad, Dr. Benes and his followers will not surrender to Hitler. If Paris and Moscow stand squarely behind Prague, President Benes will not yield. Premier Hodza told the Czechoslovak Parliament that the Czechs would "fight, fight, fight!" But no nation wants to emulate the example of Ethiopia and wage a war against hopeless odds. Ten million Czechs and Slovaks could not hope to hold out long against seventy-four million Germans, aided perhaps by thirty-four million Poles and nine million Hungarians. What Dr. Benes will do, therefore, depends in a large measure on what happens in Paris, Moscow and London. If his allies and friends fail to support him, he will be forced to make the best terms he can with Hitler.

That the Reich intends to act as self-appointed guardian over all Germanic minorities in Central Europe is an accepted fact. On March 13, Field Marshal Goering proclaimed that anyone who "attacks Germans—and thus Germany—will face the ever-loaded German cannon." That blast was aimed at Czechoslovakia.

"The Day Will Come"

It has long been the contention of the German Government that the Czechs mistreat the Teutonic minority in Czechoslovakia. Few observers will deny that there has been injustice. It has been one of the tragedies of the post-war era that the Czechs did not reach a *modus vivendi* with the German minority during the life of the democratic Second Reich. Now, the Czechs are hurriedly making concessions in the face of Nazi threats. But there is no possibility that the Czechs can satisfy the Henleinists without destroying the unity of the Czechoslovak State. Harassed within the republic's borders by a German minority, the Magyars, Poles and dissident Slovaks, confronted with the danger of invasion from the outside, uncertain of help from their allies, the Czechs face an increasingly uphill fight to preserve their independence.

In view of this situation, it is no wonder that the Czech Nazis can boast "*Es kommt der Tag!* (The day will come!)" It is not strange that Henlein tells his followers that "victory is certain!" For Czechoslovakia occupies the unenviable position of being the next major objective in the path of the onrushing Nazified *Drang nach Osten*.

SPAIN IN PERSPECTIVE

Italy and Germany, stepping in where Franco had failed, put Spain on the chopping block

By LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

ONE might say that like ancient Gaul, Spain is divided into three parts. The Italians and the Germans have driven their wedge down to the sea, cutting off Barcelona from its sister capital at Valencia.

Day by day German and Italian bombing planes, tanks and artillery, and a horde of Moors from various parts of Africa—100,000 are now estimated to be on Spanish soil—drive their salients where the vaunted "Flower of Spanish Youth," fighting under the banner of Franco, could not.

The great orange plantations of the Valencia *huerta* or "garden spot," have fallen into the hands of the "Saviors of Spain." The orange crop proved a golden boon to the government. Oranges have always constituted Spain's most important article of export. During these past two years they have been exported in increased and intensified measure. This, in part, enabled the government to pay for such war material as it was able to buy notwithstanding the non-intervention agreement, and also pay for food for inhabitants of loyal territory. The seizure of these plantations is serious. The division of Republican territory by driving a wedge to the sea is likewise serious. But the Republic fights on. War material has been moved into the isolated government territory of which Madrid is the apex. Valencia, vulnerable as it is, is preparing for the defense. It is doubtful how long Madrid could hold out should Valencia fall. Barcelona has its back to the wall and a sword in each hand. Its principal source of energy and power has been cut, but still it fights on. Forecasts would be rash. No doubt a new chapter will have been written before these words see the light.

The new cabinet recently formed with Dr. Juan Negrin again at the helm, but with the old National Defense Minister, Don Indalecio Prieto, "in the dog house" as it were, is a 100 per cent war cabinet. Dr. Negrin becomes National Defense Minister, as well. Within certain safeguards he has become a virtual dictator. His job is to "win the war"; the Spanish press has hailed him as "the Clemenceau of



Glasgow Record

NOW I CAN SEE VICTORY IN SIGHT

Spain." Associated with him are Julio Alvarez del Vayo, the new Foreign Minister, and Julian Zugazagoita, the general secretary to the War Minister, who had stepped out of the preceding cabinet to take this position, which was not a ministerial portfolio. These are the three strong men of the new government charged with staying the headlong push of the enemy, with saving Republican Spain if it can. All three are socialists.

The Fifth Column

One might add to the list of strong men Paulino Gomez Sainz, who has become the *Ministro de Gobernación*, or Home Secretary, charged with the maintenance of law and order. He is a burly Basque who made a reputation for himself during the previous ten months, first by establishing order in Catalonia after the Barcelona rising in May of last year, and later as a kind of sub-Minister charged with maintaining order throughout Republican Spain. He was particularly effective in handling the troublesome Anarcho-Sindicalists. His task is now an arduous and delicate one. He must not only maintain normal conditions of order, but he must ferret out and halt the activities of the members of the so-called "Fifth Column," composed of Franco

sympathizers behind the lines who are ready—as was demonstrated in the cases of Madrid and Santander—to take arms in Franco's aid at the opportune moment. He must also hold in check the supporters of the government with extreme inclinations, who might decide, in a pinch, to take the law into their own hands against the "Fifth Column." In a critical moment he must prevent a reign of terror such as marred the earlier months of the Spanish revolution. That is a big and important task. An armed rising in the rearguard, a clash between the "Fifth Column" and loyal hot-heads could play directly into the hands of the enemy in a critical moment, and might well turn the scales of war.

The important note in the change from the old to the new government is the disappearance of Prieto. He was considered the strong man of the old government. Some called him a dictator although in truth he did little dictating except in the Defense Ministry. Prieto, Negrin, Zugazagoita, all Socialists—that was the triumvirate of "strong men" in the old government which took office in May, 1937. Negrin, Zugazagoita, del Vayo—that, as has been seen, is the setup in the new.

The work of the outgoing government is perhaps not well appreciated outside Spain. When it took office, conditions were chaotic. Malaga had recently fallen. It was a severe blow. Treachery on the part of military commands and a lack of proper defense measures played their parts in that fall. Organized treachery on the government side must take its place alongside of Mussolini and Hitler as one of Franco's great allies. One saw it first at Madrid, then at Malaga, then at Bilbao, and more recently on the Huesca and Aragon fronts. All too often they who consummated it, were old army officers who remained supposedly loyal to the government. In reality they were helping Franco in those numerous ways that a disloyal officer is capable of aiding the enemy. That all seemed part of the original conspiracy. The preceding government of Largo Caballero was blamed for this situation. Caballero

ITALIAN PRISONER IN SPAIN

"TELL you what, mate," he says, "Mussolini's a fine fellow. He did a lot for me. So when I heard he wanted me to help him, I came here. Fight against Bolshevism, see?"

Other Italians say the same thing. Still others, needing money, volunteered for a military expedition whose destination was unknown. One had heard that there was a revolution in Spain and that men were needed to guard ports and bridges. He was surprised to find himself flung into a modern war.

But in this man's case there was no equivocation.

"No, it was not the Spanish people we were fighting. We were fighting Communism. Communism is a world menace. It is as important to stamp it out in Spain as if we were struggling on the soil of Italy. The Spaniards on this side are Reds. They are just as much our enemies as the Russians."

"But there have never been many Communists in Spain. Democrats if you like—but that is a slightly different matter. The Spaniards are not fond of interference from abroad—whether it is Communist or Fascist. They have their own ideas, you know. That is what they are fighting for."

It is humiliating to argue with a man in prison, even though he can obviously say what he likes without fear of punishment. There is the illogical feeling that because he is shut in he is at a moral disadvantage.

—*Inside Spain*, by Geoffrey Brereton

was accused of keeping in key positions in the war office and at the front unworthy generals and other staff officers even though repeatedly warned against them. Some of these officers are now in prison, or have been executed. He was further accused of having failed to take proper defense measures at Madrid, at Malaga, and elsewhere. He retired under a great cloud.

There were other disheartening conditions confronting the then incoming war minister, Prieto. There was no unified command in the army. Political parties and labor organizations continued to have their individual columns, their own private war fronts, and were carrying on in a great variety of manners. Many of the column chiefs, Napoleon-like, felt that they had their own great plan for winning the war and covering themselves with glory. The Huesca and Aragon fronts were inactive and accused of being lukewarm.

Libertarian Communism

Behind the battle lines there was much lack of recognition of governmental authority. The Anarcho-Syndicalists were still bent upon imposing "Libertarian Communism" in towns and villages and among peasant populations, whether the victims liked it or not. As a result there was bloody fighting in many of these towns. A town where "Libertarian Communism" was established did not recognize any authority but its own. And so the government found itself confronted with anarchy. In Barcelona there had just occurred that bloody week of street

fighting far more violent and cruel than the historic fighting behind the Paris barricades in the days of the Commune.

It was the business of the government named in May, 1937, to put an end to all this and re-establish the central authority. Looking back over those ten months and a little more during which it held office, it is seen to have accomplished an Herculean task phenomenally well. The army was unified, law and order were established, "Libertarian Communes" were abolished, the Anarcho-Syndicalists were made to see reason.

To Indalecio Prieto fell the task of unifying the army, putting in new and dependable officers, getting war material, creating an effective fighting machine. One might almost say that he worked at it 24 hours of the day, and late in the evening he took time off to write with his own hands the war communiques.

Prieto

Prieto is a shrewd, astute, hard-hitting Socialist militant, who knows how to be quiet and say nothing, to bide his time when the occasion requires. His feud with Largo Caballero proved that. Caballero was the extremist left leader of the party while Prieto was the leader of the center. Caballero would have given a great deal to get Prieto out of the way and constitute himself the big boss of the party. Soon after the 1936 elections Prieto almost was got out of the way when an armed mob attacked his automobile while he was on a speaking tour

in Estremadura. There has been some ugly talk about that. In the war government formed shortly after the military rising, Caballero was Prime Minister and Prieto, Minister of the Navy. One heard and saw a lot of Caballero and nothing of Prieto. It was being said: "Prieto has been suppressed by Caballero." But the day came when Caballero rather ignominiously "got the gate." And Prieto was "top dog."

Prieto was a quiet, placid sort of person, more than ordinarily rotund of girth and of face. One might be tempted to say he was phlegmatic, but that would indicate one did not know Prieto. He had an ingenuous, disarming expression which masked the fighter behind it. He knew his way around. During the dictatorship, and again after the Asturian rising of 1934, he vanished from the scene like smoke while the authorities were on his trail. The next thing you knew he bobbed up in Brussels, or Paris. Caballero never could get out of the way like that. He was always getting himself caught, but could easily prove he had done nothing because that seemed to be the truth. Caballero's faculty for preaching revolution and personally doing nothing about it has been the subject of much comment within the party.

Prieto could be firm as a rock, but there was a human quality about him which prevented him from being harsh or tyrannical. And he had the instincts of a gentleman—not of the polished and traditional type of Spanish gentleman who, toward his fellow man, can be a cruel, unfeeling "tough baby"—but of a gentleman. For instance, he insisted that all his war prisoners be properly treated. One day he was requested to permit the photographing of some German and Italian aviators who had been taken prisoners. He refused. "It's not elegant," he said. "It might hurt their feelings." But in mid-March came the insurgents' eastern offensive, the break through, the flight of Republican troops abandoned by their officers, the evidence of more military treachery which not even Prieto with his rigid discipline had been able to root out. And Prieto's sun rapidly set.

One always feels that Prieto missed the high point of his career when he refused to become Prime Minister of the Popular Front government, after Azaña left that office to become President of the Republic. One senses that he would have stemmed the military uprising then brewing and that the

history of Spain might have been different. But on political grounds he declined, and the job fell to a weakling, Cazares Quiroga, who, since the rebellion, has disappeared in oblivion.

Prieto attacked his multiplex problems with a firm hand. One of his big questions was that of the war commissars who played and are playing such an important role in the Republican army. He made the commissars non-political. This was the rock on which he stumbled.

The war commissars were a combination of lay father confessors, advisers, and leaders to the soldiers. They were their big brothers and defenders who at the same time must be prepared to take military command should the chief officer for some reason or other fall out. The Spanish commissars were also political propagandists. Each one preached the ideas of his own political party. That created rivalries and made the army a conglomeration of political groups. In Russia, where there was only one political group, that might have worked—and seems to have worked. But Spain was not having any of the Russian brand of one-party regimentation.

The question which Prieto had to solve was whether the dangers of political commissars outweighed their advantages. He decided that they did. The question does not seem an absolute one. Given a more seasoned and cohesive army and more experienced and dependable officers, he would no doubt have been right. But under actual conditions he perhaps made an error. At least, after the eastern front debacle, the Communists fiercely accused him of error.

So Prieto is out, but he does not retire in disgrace. His capacity, his faithfulness, his common-sense judgment in most matters, his accomplishments are recognized. But his departure is the old story of war. When a general—and Prieto was a kind of generalissimo—doesn't fill the bill, throw him out quickly and get another one. Prieto will be heard from again. He continues to be useful, to collaborate with the government. In a quiet way, it is understood, he is giving considerable attention to the international phase of the war.

Commissar Revival

The war commissars are now being revived. The Communist Minister of Public Instruction of the late cabinet, Jesus Hernandez, has been named General Commissar and is reorganizing the forces. It would not be surprising if

one were now to see new emphasis on Communism in the army. After the international fiasco the Communist star is in the ascendancy again. Only a month previously one heard talk of eliminating the Communist party from the government entirely—it had two members in the old cabinet and has one in the new. Spaniards themselves did not like the Communist party and what it stood for. Before the Popular Front elections it had never been strong enough to elect a single deputy, and the

Its other friend, Mexico, had little or no arms to sell and was far away. "What can we do? We must turn to Russia. It is a fatality that we must do so." So one heard. The government and its supporters have always felt that in the end England and France, consulting their own interests, would do something that might turn the scales. But they have not. Rather, Spaniards feel, they are being sacrificed to the game of international power politics. Fatality again threatens to



ON THEIR WAY? Former Premier Largo Caballero and present Premier Dr. Juan Negrin shortly after leaving an emergency session.

handful who won in 1936 were elected by reason of being on the Popular Front ticket and so receiving Republican and Socialist votes. It was further realized that the presence of Communists in the government made foreign countries, such as England and France, wary of the Republic and gave its opponents an excuse for referring to it as "Red" and "Marxist." The government would rather not have had to deal with Russia at all. The pre-civil war Republic had never accepted Russian ambassadors or consular officers, even though more conservative countries like England, France, and the United States, to say nothing of Germany and Italy, had done so long ago. Spain, in fact, was the last country in Europe to put Russia on the basis of diplomatic comity. But after the rebellion Russia was the only other country to which it could turn for the purchase of arms in its own defense. The doors of England and France were closed to it.

throw Republican Spain into Russian arms.

In the meantime the new Negrin war cabinet fights on. Dr. Negrin, who before the present Spanish affair was no politician but a scientist concerned only with his laboratory and his patients, has set up his war laboratory and gone to work. Perhaps he brings something of his medical doctrine to his job. No one knows better than the physician that "While there is life, there is hope."

His general secretary for war, Zugazgoita, whose name even his friends find too long so that they call him just "Zuga," is a Basque and a Socialist who used to be editor of the party organ, *El Socialista*. He is the typical spare, lanky journalist who would walk about with his typewriter. When he became Home Minister, he installed his portable in his office and wrote interesting pieces in off moments. Some had a revolutionary punch, others were

literary, with even a touch of the poetic. He is the journalist turned administrator who did a good job as Home Secretary and Dr. Negrin has sufficient confidence in him to make him his chief laboratory assistant.

Julio Alvarez del Vayo is the internationalist and the globe trotter of the lot. Spanish governments have always needed a few globe-trotters but unfortunately have lacked them. All too often they were composed of men whose horizons were limited by the boundary lines of Madrid or at best of Portugal and the Pyrenees. They lacked that broad and comprehending view given by travel and by mingling with world personalities. Del Vayo has it. For years he was a reporter at Geneva. Later he was variously a foreign minister or ambassador to other lands. He has been Spain's chief representative at the League of Nations and has already served a term as Foreign Secretary. He knows the foreign ropes as no

other Spaniard does. He talks excellent English. He knows how to be off-hand and open in his conversations—which is a difficult trick for a Spanish man of state to learn.

While Negrin and his chief aids remain busy in Negrin's war laboratory, the world continues to be made safe for democracies in the international chancelleries of Europe. Del Vayo has again appealed to the League of Nations to take up the case of Spain. The League was the supreme tribunal set up to guarantee democracy in Europe. All its members stand bound by a sacred promise to protect each of its members from aggression. Spain, a party to that pact, had maintained confidence therein and had stood ready to carry out its own engagement. Its Republican constitution, adopted in 1931, is one of the few European constitutions of state, if not the only one, which specifically pledges the state to co-operate with the League and carry out

to the letter its ordinations. It is true that up to the present the League has not taken cognizance of the foreign invasions because, as has been seen, such invasions were not considered to exist except in the imaginations of those who alleged their existence. And there was nothing anywhere in the Covenant articles to compel the league to worry about the "Flower of Spanish Youth." The tale of the League's attitude in the face of this latest appeal will no doubt likewise have been told before this appears. Spain, beholding power politics in the raw and at their worst once more in the ferment, has scant hopes. She has learned, as the Abyssinians learned before her, as some other European countries are learning, that when a free people wish to make the world safe for themselves, they must fight for it. Each white man—and each black man—must bear his own burdens. There are no other bearers thereof.

Australia Waits

By DUDLEY JONES

THERE is no need to emphasize why Australia is following the Sino-Japanese conflict with the greatest anxiety. Moreover, there is no doubt where public sympathy lies—in spite of Japan's position as the Commonwealth's second best customer for a number of years. It is overwhelmingly in favor of China, and not only because she is the 'under dog'; it is realized that a comparatively rapid victory for Japan may be of vital consequence for the Commonwealth's seven million people.

The average Australian has long felt uneasy as far as Nippon is concerned, and has never been backward in expressing that uneasiness privately. The friendship was purely official, not national. The commencement of Japan's "self-defence" campaign provoked this latent uneasiness into open hostility.

The general uneasiness of the Australian public at Japanese imperialism was reflected in the recent Federal elections. The campaign between the United Australia Party (Conservative) and the Labor Party—the former has occupied government benches since 1931—began on matters of internal polity. Soon public demand put defense in the forefront and the result hinged on that issue. Both parties agreed that the Commonwealth should expand its defense as much as possible, but their defense policy differed in two important respects. Curtin, Labor leader, fighting his first election in that capacity, declared that the air force should be developed at the expense of the navy; this for several reasons: (a) The greater mobility of aircraft makes them more suitable for the defense of a long coastline; (b) the paucity of capital outlay and upkeep makes aircraft more economical for a country of limited financial resources. The U. A. P. declared for a navy implemented by aircraft. However, on the second point of its program the Labor

Party undoubtedly lost the election. It was forced on the party by J. T. Lang, former Premier of N. S. W. and stormy petrel of the Labor Movement. It was announced as an "Isolation policy." The Labor Party would pledge that no Australian should be forced to serve overseas and that Australia's defense policy should be such as to make her independent of Great Britain in time of crisis. This policy of "cut the painter" did not appeal to the Australian people, which is convinced that we would have to look to Britain in time of war. The U. A. P. promised to stick to Britain at all costs and was returned with a good majority. It has kept its word by religiously following every step taken by Downing Street. It has thus refused to consider any boycott of Japanese goods. An unofficial boycott has been demanded by all sections of the community, but, strangely, it does not seem to have been nearly as successful as reports from Canada and the U. S. A. indicate it has been in those countries. In recent weeks wharf-laborers have refused to handle metal cargoes consigned to Japan. Apart from this it seems that the unfortunate Chinese have every sympathy but no help.

There is one development which is eagerly looked forward to here—an Anglo-U. S. accord. But the American government's attitude to the situation has dashed cold water on Australian hopes. Not that America is blamed when Britain's attitude to Manchukuo is taken into account. Still, it is hoped that the imminent trade treaties may be a step in the right direction and Australia feels that it has a Big Friend with mutual interests across the Pacific, a feeling which many of our citizens gave vocal utterance when several warships steamed into Sydney Harbor last week to represent the U. S. A. at Australia's Sesquicentenary celebrations.

CANADA: OUR MILITARY WARD

*Canada is sentimentally attached to Britain
and bound to the American military machine*

By DAVID MARTIN

IN THE same measure that Canada's bonds with the Empire have become weaker, her bonds with the United States have become stronger—or perhaps it would be more correct if this were stated in inverse order. Her geographical proximity to the United States, the nature of her economy, the common interests of the two nations, predestined her collaboration with her "good neighbour" to the South. The two nations commonly share the greatest internal waterway system in the world. Canada utilizes two transportation corridors through American territory, one through Maine to the Maritimes, the other through the Alaskan fringe to Skagway. The United States has two corridors through Canadian territory, one through Ontario and the other through British Columbia to Alaska. While it has been pointed out by quite logical cynics that Canada could not hope to defend herself against an invasion from the United States, the 4,000 miles of unfortified border still stands as a testimony to the collaboration between the two nations.

As shocking as it may be to idealists, political alignments seem to have a quite tangible connection with trade and investment statistics. American capital has invested in Canada some \$3,990,000,000 out of a total foreign investment (in Canada) of \$6,889,000,000 and Canadian capital has invested in the United States \$1,311,000,000 out of a total investment abroad of \$2,083,000,000. Trade between the two countries has reached a peak of \$523,000,000 exported to the United States and \$894,000,000 imported. Almost half of Canada's total trade within recent years has been with the United States while scarcely one-third of her total trade has been with the United Kingdom.

It would be wrong, however, to explain the friendship that exists between the two peoples entirely on the basis of the above-quoted figure. The flow of commerce has been accompanied by a flow of immigrants and tourists and ideas and culture. At the present time there are 1,278,000 Canadians in the United States and roughly 350,000 Americans in Canada. It has been esti-

This article answers the following questions:

1. Is Canada constructing a highway to connect the United States with Alaska?
2. Did Admiral Jellicoe advocate an alliance with the United States?
3. Has there been a large influx of Japanese to Canada?
4. Who described the Canadian forces as a "bow and arrow army running out of arrows"?
5. Has Canada repudiated her empire commitments?

mated that one out of every seven or eight native Canadians migrates to the United States. Each year some 20,000,000 American tourists and visitors cross into Canada, while several million Canadians cross into the States. The overwhelming majority of the Canadian people (not many can go to Oxford!) receive their *Weltanschauung* from American movies and American radio programs and American books and magazines. Consequently it is only natural that Canadians and Americans should regard each other more as fellow countrymen than aliens.

In her policy in the Pacific, Canada is influenced by an Oriental immigration problem similar to that which confronts the United States. The poor orientals who were brought across to Canada in the first place because the artificers of the Canadian Pacific Railway required cheap labor, today find themselves pariahs, deprived of the franchise, because they happen to have a relatively low standard of living, and because they look different and do not assimilate easily. There were in Canada, at the time of the last census, 46,519 Chinese and 23,342 Japanese concentrated chiefly on the Pacific Coast. Immigration has been curtailed to the near zero point in the post-war years—in the case of China, by an act of Parliament, in the case of Japan, by a gentleman's agreement as a result of which Japan has voluntarily restricted her quota of immigrants to Canada to

eighty per year (actually the agreement allows for 150). Even this has not been sufficient to satisfy the rabid anti-Japanese sentiment prevalent on the Pacific Coast, a sentiment that has only been too ready to exploit the Pacific war scare for all it is worth. Members of Parliament from British Columbia charge that Japanese fishermen in the Fraser River fire on their Anglo-Saxon competitors, and, in view of this atrocity, demand the complete stoppage of all Japanese immigration to Canada. Archdeacon Scott charges publicly that Japanese fishing boats on the British Columbia coast carry concealed guns capable of firing 25 to 50 miles. Government experts laughingly point out that the concussion caused by a gun of this range would probably throw any fishing boat on the Pacific Coast clear across the Rocky Mountains. The British Columbia Trollers' Association demands the deportation of all Japanese on the Pacific Coast.

Canada Snubs the Empire

Had British policy vis-a-vis the United States been consistently friendly, then perhaps the conflict between Canada and Great Britain would not have assumed such marked forms. Despite the oceans of sentiment about the need for unity between the English speaking democracies, the cruel facts are that British interests are far from being entirely harmonious with American interests. There has been a continuous conflict between Canada and Britain over the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It is common knowledge that long after the Washington Conference, the British Admiralty still continued to favor the renewal of this alliance. When Mathew Halton, London correspondent of the *Toronto Star*, interviewed Admiral Jellicoe shortly before his death, Admiral Jellicoe told him that he was opposed to an alliance with the United States and favored an alliance with Japan instead.

In the early days of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis, Britain's attitude was, at best, one of friendly neutrality. While Britain has managed to conclude a dubious truce with the Berlin-Rome sector of the axis, the Japanese end

seems to have gone entirely awry. The exhausting war in China could hardly be calculated to pacify Britain, or to aid Hitler in his future war against the Soviet Union. However a German-Japanese war against the Soviet Union, Britain was prepared to countenance and even to encourage. But when Japan undertook the military invasion of China, she threatened Britain's entire interests in the Far East. As a result, there has been an unquestionable rapprochement between Great Britain and the United States, publicized by the fact that Britain has granted docking facilities at Singapore and Hong Kong to the United States Navy. Collaboration between Britain and the United States in the Pacific has naturally done much to improve the relations between Canada and Britain. Nevertheless the sponsors of an Anglo-American fraternity should not be over-optimistic. What has changed before, may quite conceivably change again. British diplomacy is carrying on a parallel policy in Europe and the Far East. In Europe she has bent herself to the task of creating a four-power pact which would align the democracies and the fascist powers; in the Far East the indications are that she is working towards a compromise with Japan.

It is against this background that we must consider Canada's defense preparations.

Canada's Defense

There are people who derive a peculiar psychological satisfaction out of imagining themselves to be in constant danger of attack. There are those who see in every diplomatic move in Europe some design on the integrity of Canadian territory. Professor A. R. M. Lower, well-known Canadian historian, even suggests that Canada should purchase Greenland from Denmark in order to prevent some hostile European power from occupying it as a base of operations against Canada. Then again, there are British Imperialists who like to imagine that Canada has differences with the United States and still looks to the Motherland for assistance. Accordingly, they even go to the trouble of elaborating plans of defense against a theoretical American invasion of Canada. Part of the strategy suggested is the development of the Hudson Bay Railway and its terminus at Port Nelson, so that Britain would be able to employ the far northern route to Canada in case the approaches to Halifax and Montreal were blocked. Nothing could be more ludicrous. Entirely apart from the overwhelming disparity in

population and resources, Canada is extremely vulnerable to attack from the South. While Canada has breadth, she has little depth—her size would not give her the advantage that size gives to Russia. From this standpoint, Canada has been compared to a narrow sheaf of wheat converging at Winnipeg. If you were to draw a line within two hundred miles of the American border on the Canadian side (one hundred miles would almost suffice), it would include within it almost everything that is of economic importance in Canada—cities, railways, farmlands and mines. One suggestion for defense against the United States, however, must not be ignored—the Canadian Army could retreat to Kapuskasing in northern Ontario and cut off the newsprint supply of the *New York Times*.

If nature failed to provide Canada with defenses to the South, she has more than compensated for this on the East and the West. On the East, more than 3,000 miles separate her from the European mainland. In order to approach Canada's vital areas, an invading fleet would have to sail up the St. Lawrence River which, incidentally, is closed to navigation for five months of the year. But even before arriving in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the fleet would run up against formidable barriers. The Strait of Belle Isle, between Newfoundland and the tip of Labrador, could be effectively closed—for the small part of the year that it is open to navigation—by mines, coast artillery and perhaps a few submarines. From Newfoundland to the tip of Cape Breton Island is a scant sixty miles, in which space there are a number of easily fortified small islands. These islands, plus mines and submarines again, should be able to close this avenue also to a hostile fleet. But even if a hostile fleet were to penetrate this first line of defense, it would be nothing short of suicide for it to attempt to sail up the narrow St. Lawrence River. It would be possible to stage a landing on the coast of Nova Scotia, but this would not cut off anything vital to Canada and there would still be a long and difficult terrain before the invaders. As for a landing on the coast of Labrador: it would be a slight improvement on a landing at the North Pole, but not much.

The Pacific coast presents an equally inhospitable picture to the would-be invader. Vancouver and Victoria, and the most vital districts, can be approached only through the narrow Strait of Juan de Fuca or through the much narrower Johnston Straits at the

northeast of Vancouver Island. The Dixon Entrance, gateway to Prince Rupert, could also be effectively fortified against a hostile fleet. Elsewhere, the coast is wild and rugged. Yet it is the Pacific Coast that is today occupying Canada's attention—not because she herself fears invasion, but because there is a very real danger of war between Japan and the United States.

It is generally agreed that a Pacific war between Japan and the United States would follow the course of the semi-circle formed by the North American coasts, the Aleutian Islands and the Japanese archipelago. With the virtual abandonment of the Philippines, America's main line of naval defense may be said to cut across this semi-circle from the Aleutians to Hawaii to Panama. The United States is in fact today developing the Aleutians as a base for defensive and offensive action against Japan; and for offensive and defensive reasons as well, Japan would have to attack along the same route. Canada's position in such a war has already been likened to that of Belgium during the World War.

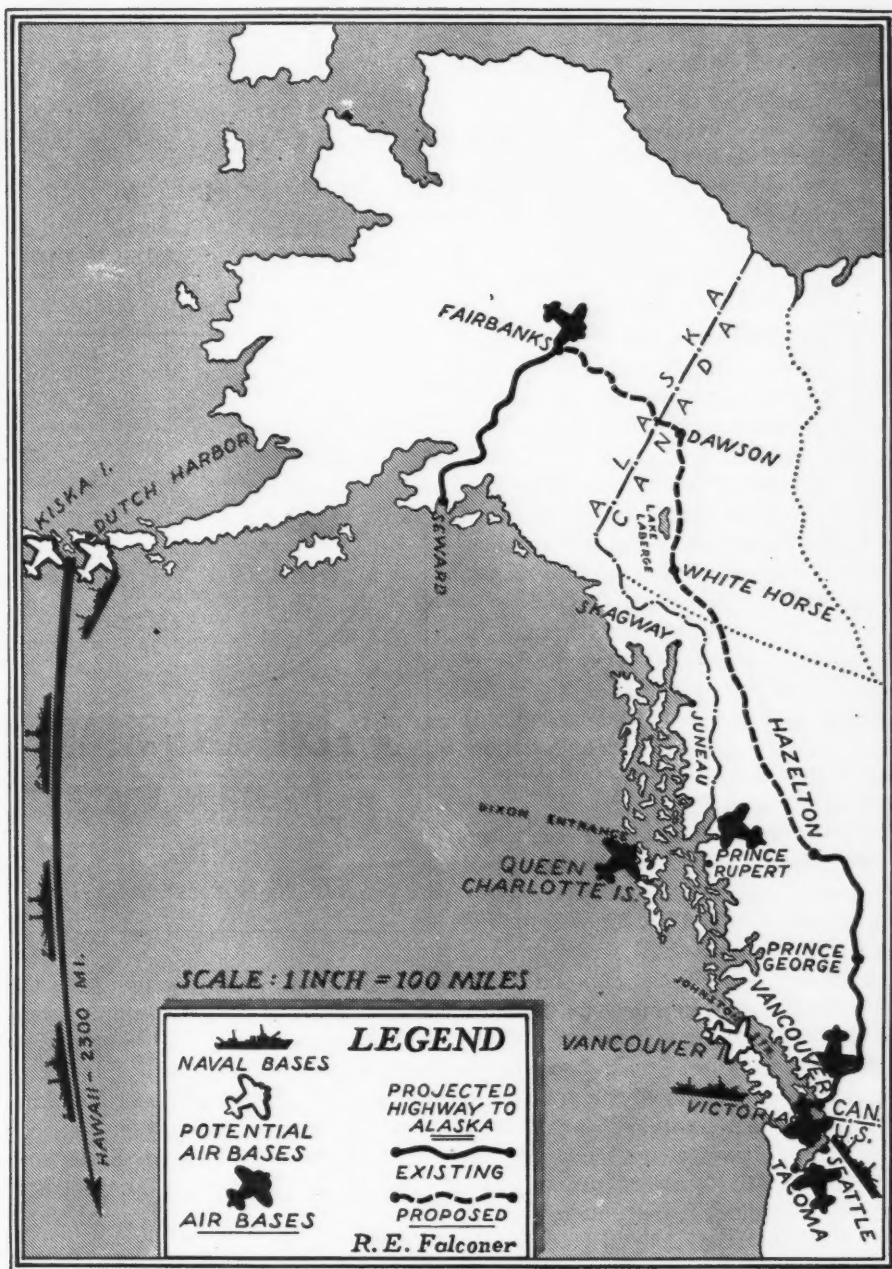
Joint Action

In the event of hostilities, Canadian collaboration would be imperative to the United States. If the Japanese were able to occupy some inlet along the British Columbia coast and use it as a base for raiding operations, they would be in a position to threaten seriously American shipping and American coastal cities. And should sea communication with Alaska at any time become hazardous, it would be necessary for the United States to have at its disposal a back door route through British Columbia. That is why America is so concerned over Canadian Pacific defenses and why, in addition, she has been sponsoring the project of a military highway extending from the American border to Alaska. Canada is beginning to wake up to the concern that their southern neighbour feels. If Canada does not hasten to fortify her Pacific coast, says the *Toronto Star*, the United States will be compelled to intervene and "her 4,000 miles of unfortified boundaries may become a thing of the past."

Within the past two years Canadian defense estimates have been considerably increased. Expenditures, which stood at \$25,000,000 in 1936, were increased to \$36,000,000 in 1937, and this year, according to budget estimates, will total \$34,022,000. Special attention has been paid to the Pacific

Coast. The Canadian Navy, which consisted of two destroyers in 1936, was increased to four destroyers in 1937 and to six this year. Mine sweepers have also been purchased. The air force was increased by 102 planes in 1937 and will be increased by 75 planes this year—to give Canada a total air force of over 300 planes. Some \$600,000 has been earmarked for air bases that are being built at Jericho Beach, adjoining Vancouver; at Patricia Bay, near Victoria; at Prince Rupert and on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Auxiliary facilities are being established at Kamloops, Ailford Bay, etc. A \$250,000 magazine is being installed at the Esquimalt naval base. Large stores of ammunition are being laid by. The approaches to Victoria and Vancouver are being studded with shore-batteries—at Sidney Island, Ailford Bay, English Bay, William's Head, on the narrow Johnston Straits, etc. Guns are being set up in beautiful Stanley Park in Vancouver; and Yorke Island, at the north of Vancouver Island, is in process of being converted into a "miniature Gibraltar." The status of the military highway through British Columbia is still indefinite, but it has been estimated that it would cost \$14,000,000 to extend this highway from Hazelton to Dawson, and to improve the stretch from Vancouver to Hazelton. The matter was discussed by Premier Patullo of British Columbia and President Roosevelt at their meeting in November of last year.

Even with the recent increases, however, Canada almost tailends the world in per capita expenditures on arms. While the lavish British expenditures run at least \$25 per capita and while the United States is spending at the rate of approximately \$12, the Canadian Government feels that an expenditure of \$3 per person is entirely adequate. There are critics of this policy, staunchest among them the imperialists who believe that Canada should prepare to send another army overseas in case Britain becomes involved in another European war. "A bow and arrow army running out of arrows," is how Col. George Drew, prominent conservative, describes the Canadian Army. And the truth is that very little, apart from the cost of maintenance, is being spent on the land forces. The only war that Canada today contemplates seriously is a war involving her Pacific Coast, and in such a war large forces of infantry would not be required. Canada is nevertheless maintaining a small standing army of more than 4,000 men, backed by a Non-



Permanent Militia of 100,000 men, which could easily act as a nucleus for a greatly expanded army if the occasion should arise. Government munition works are being prepared for full time production, and 700 additional plants have been inspected with a view to conversion to the manufacture of arms upon short notice.

Still, Canada's frugality in her armament outlay can only be explained by the assumption that she has definitely broken with European and Empire commitments and is, instead, following a policy of reliance on the United States. Imperialists may lament this trend, but history goes its way despite their laments. Prominent among the lamenters is Senator Arthur Meighen who, ironically enough, was himself accused of being a "tool of Washington" when, as Canada's Prime Minister,

he opposed the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance at the Imperial Conference of 1921. In a debate in the Senate in January of last year, Meighen said: "... The first line of defense of the whole of this continent is the British Empire itself—reliance upon the Monroe Doctrine would render Canada a humiliated adjunct of the American Republic from that moment on." A semi-official answer to this argument was given in the *Canadian Defense Quarterly* for October, 1935:

"It has been advanced that Canada's dignity must suffer through her reliance for protection on the armed forces of a foreign power. There is a two-fold reply to this stricture. In the first place, the United States is hardly regarded as a foreign power by Canada and, it might be added, this feeling is reciprocated by the United States."

REVOLT IN THE A.M.A.

The dispute over socialized medicine in the U. S. has finally broken out into the open

By HOWARD STEPHENSON

THE present controversy over medical care is not a family quarrel among physicians. It affects all of us personally and deeply. For a peculiar characteristic of this contest is that all the combatants are primarily after the same thing—better means of keeping us well and treating us when we are ill. Scratch a physician and you will find an idealist.

The argument revolves around the question whether better medical care for the American public is to be obtained by State-controlled (socialized) medicine or by the traditional relationship between the patient and the individual physician.

We already have some socialized medical care, which nobody is disposed at present to discard. Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of *The Journal of the American Medical Association* and spearhead of the forces opposed to extension of socialized medicine, thus described what we now have:

"Of the two million beds available in our hospitals, almost one million are in government-controlled institutions. In almost every Federal department, certain health functions are incorporated, including, for example:

"The Bureau of Animal Husbandry, the Bureau of Home Economics and the Food & Drugs Administration in the Department of Agriculture.

"The Employees' Compensation Commission and the Veterans' Administration as independent bodies.

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs, St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Howard University and the Freedman's Hospital in the Department of the Interior.

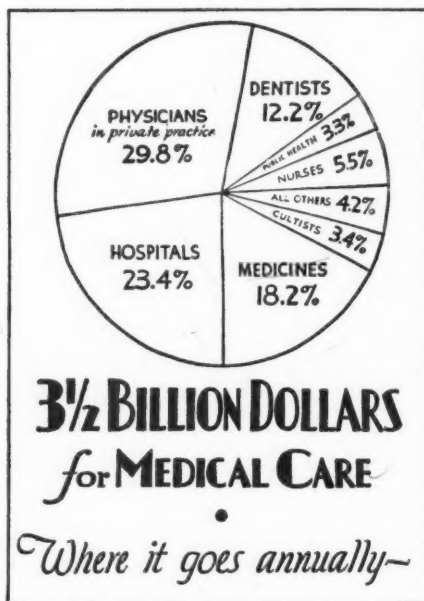
"The penal and correctional institutions in the Department of Justice.

"The Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

"The Bureau of Narcotics and the United States Public Health Service in the Treasury Department.

"Some medical functions in the Department of Commerce.

"It is estimated that our government expends today between \$150,000,000 and \$200,000,000 annually on health functions alone. Moreover, the indi-



vidual States have entered into the field of medical care to such an extent that in some of them, for example, New York and Massachusetts, from 25 to 35 per cent of all medical care is administered as State functions."

If we include all local, State, and national tax funds spent for medical care, the total reaches \$500,000,000 a year, according to Dr. Michael M. Davis, chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics. This, he estimates, is about one-sixth of the total of all annual expenditures for medical care.

Thus five-sixths of medical bills must come from the pockets of patients.

This is as it should be, insists Dr. Fishbein.

This should be subject to major change, urges Dr. Davis.

This needs modification only as regards special groups, declares Dr. Chas. Gordon Heyd, former president (1936-1937) of the American Medical Association.

We face an immediate problem, we need a national plan and here is one, announces the Committee of 430 Physicians, a forthright and vigorous group within the American Medical Association which numbers many of the "big names" in medicine among its member-

ship. The roster, incidentally, now contains 711 names.

Europe's Experience

What of State-controlled medicine in other countries? In Germany, about 20,000,000 citizens now pay compulsory sickness insurance taxes and receive the benefits of medical care by law. Their 20,000,000 dependents also are covered by this insurance. The State, however, does not support this system financially. The insurance societies are organized in local community units. The employer pays one-half as much as the worker. As to benefits, the insured receives not only medical care for himself and his family, but also a cash payment, over a period of twenty-six weeks, approximating one-half his wages. In addition, 2,000,000 German public officials are automatically insured by the government and another 2,000,000 middle-class people belong to voluntary sickness insurance societies.

The rest of Europe, by and large, has followed the German model in setting up socialized medicine plans, but there are some interesting exceptions.

Italy's compulsory health insurance is limited to tuberculosis. The individual community, however, usually has its communal physician, tax-paid, whose services are on call by the patient unable to pay a fee. In Switzerland, a permissive national law throws the administrative burden on the cantons, some of which have elaborate systems and some practically none. The rest of Europe, with the notable exceptions of Russia, France, and Great Britain, has followed the German model.

True State medicine exists in Russia. There physicians and others who serve the sick are government officials. Hospitals are government institutions. The nation's entire medical bill is paid out of a special tax levied on industry. But physicians are not forbidden to carry on private practice. Private medical practice has been aptly compared to the existence of private schools in America, where public instruction, tax-paid, is provided for all children.

Where the PHYSICIAN'S INCOME GOES

40% □

60% ▨



France has had a system of State medical care only since 1930. It is estimated that half the cost of medical care for the average wage-earner and his family is covered by State insurance. The insurance fund pays part of the physician's bill, the patient the rest. In hospital cases, the larger share is borne by the patient.

The British system applies only to wage-earners whose income does not exceed £250 a year. This group makes up approximately one-third of the population. Under various voluntary schemes, an additional 12,000,000 persons receive sick benefits of one sort or another. The State pays one-seventh of the cost of compulsory sickness insurance. The balance is divided evenly between employer and worker. Benefits do not extend to dependents of the insured. Hospital care is a separate matter. Two-thirds of the hospital beds are tax-supported. The voluntary hospitals limit their activities largely to acute cases; the tax-supported hospitals take some acute and many chronic cases. In the government hospitals, the patient must pay, if financially able, up to the actual cost of the care received.

Denmark is worthy of mention, because it is the best example of adequate medical care for the entire population. Under State operation, practically everybody is included. Employers in Denmark are not directly taxed for medical care. The Danish hospital system, a world model, is almost entirely supported by general taxation.

But practical workings of the various European systems are far from Utopian, in the view of Dr. Heyd:

"This is not an insurance proposition that can be calculated or estimated on an actuarial basis," he says. "Human nature being what it is, the adoption

of the insurance principle for medical services puts a premium on malingering and extension of days of illness. The average loss of time to a workman in the United States by illness is six and one-half days. In Germany, under the Krankenkasse, it is thirteen days and in England, under the Panel system, eleven and one-half days."

Medicine in America

To return to the American scene, the following resumé of our medical problem is provided by the Julius Rosenwald Fund, not as argument, but as a factual basis:

"There are about 100,000,000 cases of sickness among the people of the United States every year. Some cases are serious; some are trivial. Altogether, they cause not only suffering, but also a billion-dollar loss of wages, and require about three and a half billion dollars for the costs of care.

"Concerned with furnishing medical care and medicines are 150,000 physicians, 70,000 dentists, 200,000 nurses, 7,500 hospitals, 6,000 clinics and 60,000 drug stores. Five billion dollars are invested in hospitals, clinics, labo-

ratories and in the private offices of physicians and dentists."

To this statement, officials of the Fund append the following argument in favor of medical reform:

"Physicians today are given thorough and expensive training in medical schools. The tradition and the ethics of the medical profession place service to the sick above financial return. Physicians are generally ready and anxious to serve patients who need medical care.

"Yet the average physician spends one-third of his time idle, waiting for patients.

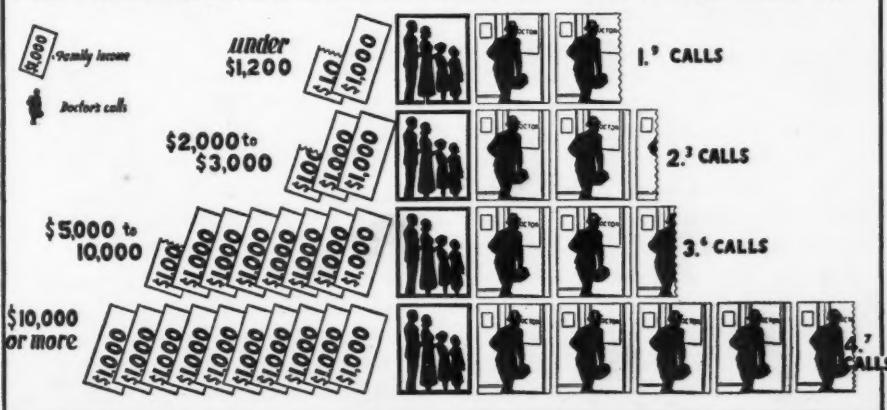
"On the other hand, many people go through serious illness without any professional care. Before the depression, studies covering 24,000 persons of moderate or small incomes showed that 25 to 35 per cent of these people had gone through a disabling illness—not a minor one—without any care from a physician.

The background for the present heated controversy over medical reform is a matter almost entirely of this generation. Though there had been agitation now and again before the World War, it was in the War period and since that national attention was focused on public health as a governmental concern.

"Since 1915," said Dr. Fishbein, "a ferment has been agitating the medical scene. It is the new concept of social service and social security. Few people realize that the advancement of medical science is largely responsible for raising these problems which social security proposes to answer.

"There has been a tendency to place on illness the responsibility for economic insufficiency, when the reverse may well be true. It is certain that the provision of adequate food, fuel, shelter and clothing and an occupation with a sufficient wage would largely solve

THE MORE INCOME PEOPLE HAVE...THE MORE MEDICAL CARE THEY BUY



many of our problems of medical care."

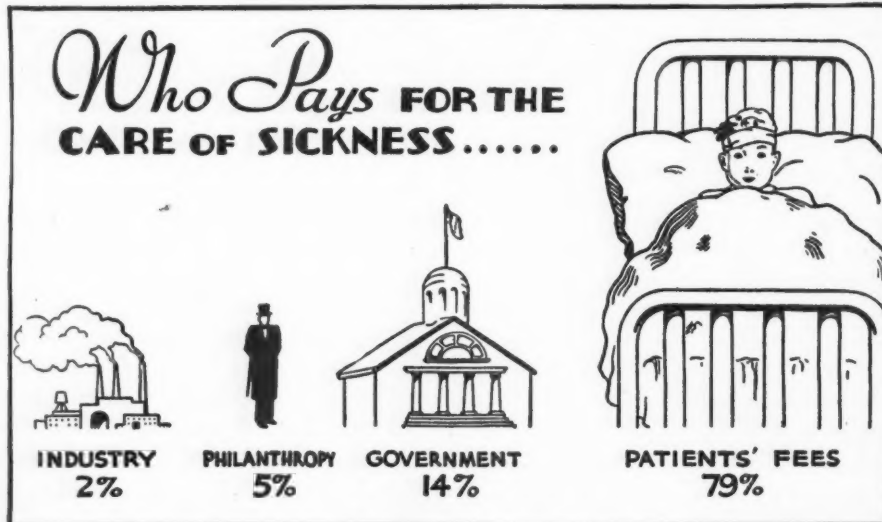
The ferment boiled over in 1927 when, at the instance of social workers and medical men, a distinguished Committee on the Costs of Medical Care was formed, supported by grants from eight large foundations. Ray Lyman Wilbur, later to become Secretary of the Interior in the Hoover cabinet, was chairman. This Committee brought forth a large body of factual data—and

nailed to the cross, then, indeed, it will be too late for us to seek the wailing-wall of remorse. . . . The merely gold-washed chains of ward-healer serfdom await the medical profession if organized medicine slumbers."

Dr. Davis, spokesman for the medical economists, set forth the five essentials which in his opinion "the intelligent American consumer demands in the care and protection of his health:

paign within the ranks of organized medicine for a reform program.

A Committee of 430 Physicians was formed. Chairman is Dr. Russell L. Cecil, Professor of Clinical Medicine at Cornell. Dr. Cabot is a vice chairman, together with Dr. Milton C. Winter-nitz, Professor of Pathology at the Yale School of Medicine. Dr. John P. Peters, Professor of Medicine at Yale, is secretary.



a number of conflicting reports. The majority report advocated a fuller planning and organization of medical practice and an extensive use of the principle of insurance against sickness. The minority reports differed in degree rather than in principle.

Revolution

Dr. Fishbein, as spokesman for the American Medical Association, warned that the majority report was "socialism and communism—inciting to revolution." The Association, at its 1934 convention adopted the principal minority report as its platform.

How deeply emotions had been stirred was indicated in this editorial in the *Journal of the Indiana State Medical Association*, which swung from the heels at political candidates suspected of leanings toward socialized medicine:

"Let us inquiringly search out the legislative mesquite and the administrative underbrush and unmistakably brand with blackball votes this coming fall those mavericks whom we have reason to suspect of long-haired theories and pop-eyed reforms as regards goose-stepping the medical profession. . . . Otherwise, in their guinea-pig-o-mania, they will march our ideals and idealisms, one by one, up that long, last hill for crucifixion. Once these have been

"1. Medical service, not as a charity, but paid for on a basis consistent with the self-respect of American citizens.

"2. Medical service so organized as to furnish him with continuous contact with a personally interested physician and which does not confuse and subdivide him among a number of independent, competing specialists.

"3. A system of paying for medical service which will develop the maximum paying power from his income, and remove the hazard of unexpected sickness bills occurring at the time when his paying power is usually least.

"4. A system of payment which will stimulate the prevention rather than the care of sickness.

"5. Good hospitals which are available to him geographically and financially."

At the annual convention of the American Medical Association in 1937, the issue of socialized medicine reached the open for the first time in organized medical circles. It was precipitated by publication of "American Medicine," a two volume resume of the opinions of some 2,200 physicians on all phases of medical reform. Though the Association took no action, a dynamic group of which Dr. Hugh Cabot, chief consulting surgeon of the Mayo Clinic, was an aggressive leader, began an active cam-

The "Principles and Proposals"

When the Committee issued a list of Principles and Proposals, which was circulated throughout the medical profession, what had looked like a family squabble developed overnight into a national controversy. The general attitude of the newspapers was that rebellion was flaring within the American Medical Association. Both the reformers and the stand-patters strove to maintain calm demeanors in the face of the public. But the leaders were too earnest to keep quiet for long.

"These Principles and Proposals," commented Dr. Fishbein, "heralded as a 'revolt' in the American Medical Association, were designed to impress the Government with the view that the American Medical Association is disorganized, not representative of medical thought throughout the nation and opposed to the best interests of the people. What is needed to answer the problem of medical care for the American people is not a Plan, but scientific Planning."

"The Principles and Proposals have been damned as socialistic propaganda," beamed Professor Peters. "They have been dismissed as platitudinous nonsense. This is inherent in the fact that they are generalizations. Their very obviousness has aroused both suspicion and enthusiasm. It seems inconceivable to some that their simplicity does not conceal ulterior motives."

But whether the Principles and Proposals prove a mere hindrance to an orderly program, or whether they are a new bill of rights to implement the American pursuit of health and happiness, there seems little doubt of their significance. They will undoubtedly be the center of the controversy from this time on. The argument may be resolved within the medical profession. But it is certain to burst forth again in public. Better and cheaper medical care for the average American family looms as one of the liveliest political topics of the immediate future.

BEHIND THE MIKADO'S THRONE

*Japan's "concealed" dictatorship is headed
by Governor-General Jiro Minami, of Korea*

By JAMES A. B. SCHERER

THE JAPANESE people were dra-
gooned into this "undeclared war."
"Dragoon" is an old word for
cavalryman, and the particular cavalry-
man under whom they were forced into
a ruinous war against their expressed
will, and who for nearly a year has
been their *de facto* ruler, is the Gov-
ernor-General of Korea, Gen. Jiro
Minami.

His very name means "south," and
he typifies that famed southern spirit
that has inspired so many generals and
admirals. Born sixty-three years ago
in the southern island of Shikoku, and
endowed with extraordinary powers, he
graduated from the Military Staff Col-
lege when only eighteen, and eventually
became one of its most brilliant instruc-
tors, after gaining practical experience
in the Russo-Japanese war. Facially,
he suggests the famous portrait of the
first of all the Shoguns—Yoritomo. For
he has the same heavy jaw and bull
neck, thick lips and broad ears, a round
nose, and heavy-lidded eyes. His phy-
sique is powerful, and while his horse-
manship is undistinguished, it keeps
him fit. Indoors, he studies military
science incessantly, a jar of warm rice
wine at his elbow, for he is a *saké* con-
noisseur. To his familiars, he is known
sometimes as "the Go-getter," some-
times as "the Diplomat," depending on
which phase of him is functioning.
When Sterling Fisher of the *New York*
Times interviewed him on the Man-
churian border, he even had kind words
for the alert Russian soldiers. "Put
yourself in their place," he suggested.
"Is it any wonder they're on their toes
with our troops lined up opposite?"
But Manchuria had already become
Manchoukuo, and in effecting that
change Minami had not only played
the major role, but had played it ruth-
lessly.

Minami's career, during the last
seven critical years, can hardly be un-
derstood without reference to his crony,
Gen. K. Ugaki. Ugaki was the central
figure in the first of the Army plots to
seize control of the Japanese govern-
ment, in March, 1931. Cooperating
with two other officers, Ugaki plotted
to compel Parliament to name him Pre-

*This article answers the follow-
ing questions:*

1. Who is K. Ugaki?
2. What is meant by the Baku-
fu?
3. Have the Japanese people
voted in favor of Japan's militaristic
program?
4. Are Japan's military forces
responsible to the Emperor?
5. How do the militarists con-
trol the formation of the Premier's
Cabinet?

mier, with dictatorial powers. His plot
failed only because Gen. Masaki,
guarding Tokyo, got wind of it. It
seems hardly conceivable, in view of
the well known intimacy, that Minami
was unaware of the plot, or unsympa-
thetic with it. But he played his cards
so well that his name was not tarred by
the brush that disgraced Ugaki, nor the
friendship marred. Through his influ-
ence, Ugaki's face was saved by send-
ing him to Korea as Governor-General,
while he himself, at Ugaki's suggestion,
succeeded to the Ministry of War.

Suspecting that, among the three
hundred ranking officers, were many
critics of his inexperience in military
administration, Minami swept aside the
stiff conventionality that had always
characterized the assumption of office.
When the three hundred were as-
sembled, he strode before them and
called out, "At ease!" Before they
could recover from their astonishment
at this rough smashing of ceremonial
precedent, he bellowed, "I'm nothing
but a novice in matters of military ad-
ministration, and depend on your co-
operation! That's all!" He turned
around abruptly and left the hall.

He also left them gasping. He had
"put it up to them." He had done it
by a stage play as crafty as it was bold,
and at the same time had made the
front page. But Minami is also a mas-
ter of concealment, and deserves first
prize for keeping off the front page
since succeeding Ugaki two years ago
as Governor-General of Korea, a job
for which he was thoroughly prepared

by his success in Manchoukuo. Mean-
while, Ugaki returned to Tokyo to make
another attempt—with Minami's aid—
to realize his ambition to be Premier.

Minami is the creator of Man-
choukuo. When Ugaki's plot of March,
1931 failed to hoist militarism into the
ruling saddle, Minami planned "the
Manchurian incident" as a means to
that end in the following August. As-
sembling his divisional commanders in
Tokyo, he delivered a philippic which,
as Takeuchi says in his important work,
War and Diplomacy in the Japanese
Empire, was accepted by the nation as
"open notice that the military were
united in demanding a more vigorous
policy toward Manchuria, failing
which, they were ready to take the
situation into their own hands and seek
a solution in their own way."

Minami's philippic went even fur-
ther. He scored the Wakatsuki-Shide-
hara cabinet, to which he belonged, for
its weakness toward China. He de-
nounced the people's demand for reduc-
tion of armament. He rallied all soldiers
to their "duty." "Some folk," he said,
"hastily advocate limitation of arma-
ments, and engage in propaganda harm-
ful to the nation and its Army. I ex-
pect you officers to cooperate with the
War Ministry in correcting such mis-
takes!"

Takeuchi, after pointing out that
under Minami's ministry the actual
center of authority for directing Ja-
pan's continental policy was already
shifting from Tokyo to Manchuria,
says that one effect of this pronounce-
ment was to transfer "the whole direc-
tion of Japan's foreign policy from the
Foreign Office to the War Department."
Troops poured across the Yalu River
from Korea to augment the Kwantung
army. War preparations became so
feverish that on September 17 the
Osaka *Asahi* mentioned the general mo-
bilization of troops. The very next day
a rigid censorship was clamped down,
and the following night Japanese troops
claimed that "the Young Marshal's"
soldiers had damaged a fishplate on the
South Manchuria Railway just north
of Mukden, and proceeded to "retali-
ate." Japan's huge war machine, all

MILITARY TRAINING IN JAPAN

BETWEEN the ages of 17 and 40, service in the Japanese army is compulsory, actual service beginning at 20. There are two classes into which the physically capable are divided: the "fit" and the "absolutely fit." The active army consists almost entirely of the latter category.

The supplementary reserve is made up of the "absolutely fit" recruits not required for the first line, and enough of the "fit" to maintain units at full strength. Service in the supplementary reserve is for twelve years and four months. After this period, soldiers are transferred to the home defense units until the age of 40.

The home defense force is divided into two sections, one consisting of men who have passed through the supplementary reserve, and the other of those who have not served in any of the preliminary service units but who are not exempted from military service. These latter receive no military training, and are called out only in extreme emergencies.

geared up and ready to go, steam-rollered across the plains, while an impotent Foreign Office kept assuring foreign governments that there was nothing to worry about. Three days after the fishplate fiasco, Minami coolly reported to a jittery cabinet, "just as a matter of form." He added that "the troops had crossed the river into Manchuria, and there was nothing for the Premier to do but accept the *fait accompli*." On October 9, he presented the Premier with the text of the Fundamental Policy for the Settlement of the Manchurian Problem, including a purge of all "unreliable" soldiers and bandits. There could be absolutely no withdrawal of military forces. He also advised negotiation thereafter, not with China, but with "the new political entity of Manchoukuo"; and he added a straight warning to the League of Nations that "Japan possesses special rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, and rejects absolutely any intervention on the part of any third nation." As a writer in the current issue of the *Tokyo Kaizo* says, "the settlement of the Manchurian affair was fundamentally based on this text."

In December of that year, Minami's reward for doubling the area and mineral wealth of his Empire through giving it control of a vast puppet state was a full generalship and promotion to the Supreme Military Council. He saw to it that his friend Araki succeeded him as Minister of War.

Araki is as noisy as Minami is reserved, but there can be little doubt that he expressed Minami's ambitions for Japan, as well as his own, in the flamboyant boast that "the imperial principle of the Japanese nation must be propagated over the seven seas and extended over the five continents; anything that may hinder its progress must be done away by force."

Minami Moves Up

When Minami went over to the mainland in 1934 to command the now huge Kwantung army, he established the three essential features of the ancient *Baku-fu*, as the Japanese call the Shogunate, or military dictatorship, that oppressed them for centuries before the "Restoration" of the Emperor in 1868: (1) Two capitals virtually existed, one at Tokyo, where the Emperor sits enthroned, and the other, the Camp Government, *Baku-fu* in the field, with the first ranking officer of the Army at its head; this resulting in (2) the substance of power in the Commander's hands; with (3) a careful concealment of the real truth, the old Shogun's primary axiom having been to "wield power in fact, never in name."

Accordingly, a penetrating study of contemporary politics, *Japan in Crisis*, says that by 1934, Japan had virtually become a military dictatorship again, for, while "the Emperor continued to be revered, and all things were done in the imperial name, in point of fact, there was no real difference, in essential matters, between the way the old *Baku-fu* had ruled Japan and the way Japan was governed now." Dr. Wildes hazards no guess as to who the concealed dictator is, but unimpeachable Japanese authority informs the writer that "the Army dominates Japan, and Minami dominates the Army," and every test I have been able to apply to this statement proves it true.

Two years ago, at Ugaki's request, Minami succeeded him as Governor-General of Korea. Since then he has attempted to manipulate an undeclared war on China along the same lines as the Manchurian exploit.

However, before launching on this new adventure, Ugaki was to have been made Premier, so that the cronies could

work together. Through Minami's influence, the Emperor named him for that office, when the Hirota cabinet fell at the beginning of 1937, because the Japanese people could no longer stomach its militarism. But the arm chair generals in Tokyo blocked Ugaki's ambition, probably because they remembered his connection with the original Army plot. They blocked it by refusing to have any one of their number serve as War Minister, so that Ugaki, humiliated, had to confess to His Majesty his inability to form a government. In his humiliation he severed all connection with the Army, and surrendered his military titles. As a last resort, Gen. Senjuro Hayashi was appointed, but his term was short-lived. Hayashi's downfall dramatically demonstrated the people's attitude toward any further military adventures on the mainland.

With a display of poor strategy, Hayashi dissolved a recalcitrant Parliament, precipitating a general election, which he fatuously hoped would seat his own hand-picked deputies, and thus regularizing the militarist program in China, as Minami wished. But the Japanese people, when summoned to a plebiscite, are not like Hitler's. They prize the Constitution promulgated half a century ago, and their liberties under it. Instead of flocking to the polls with Army rubber stamps in their hands, they turned down the militaristic program thirty to one.

Hayashi tumbled from his perch, to be succeeded by Prince Konoye. And Minami, warned by the terrific popular rebuke, decided to shoot his last bolt. Seizing on the Bismarckian device in the Japanese Constitution which makes the fighting services responsible only to the Emperor, he decided that "an incident" had occurred at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking, deserving a chastisement, similar to that given the Chinese following the demolition of the Manchurian fishplate. He also exploited Emperor-worship to implement his program without further delay. Prince Konoye was persuaded to visit His Majesty at the Imperial seaside resort last summer, and when he returned with the privy seal affixed to an order authorizing the Chinese incursion, he wielded as much power with the populace as Moses when he came down from Mt. Sinai. This is no exaggerated analogy, for, although Prince Ito wrote of Japan shortly before his death as "a once theocratic state," Emperor-worship was later resuscitated as a tool of statcraft, and the present generation

of Japanese has been taught from infancy in the government schools that their Mikado is "the incarnate God who governs the universe." So when the first puppet Parliament met in Tokyo last summer, it was blandly informed that it had been called "to approve the Army's occupation of the Peking-Tientsin area of North China, and a totalitarian program of economic and financial reform." "Such criticism of the Army's adventures as caused the fall of Hirota's government," said the press dispatches, "has been ruled out, for any thought that the positive policy adopted in China might be challenged was abandoned when the Imperial approval was given." As the hymn-book has it, "To doubt would be disloyalty, to falter would be sin."

A Super Council

Like other dictators, Minami rules by personal power. His power is the power of intelligence backed by a ruthless will and served by diplomacy as needed. He knows his history thoroughly, and he is also a student of the national psychology. He knows how other Shoguns succeeded, and how still other Shoguns, such as the Ashikaga, failed. Like such great Shoguns as Yoritomo and Iyeyasu, he envelopes himself in a shadow of profound reverence to the Throne, while the Army, far removed from Tokyo, gives him the substance of power.

Unlike Ugaki, however, he discloses no personal ambition, a trait the Japanese will not tolerate in a minister. They remember what the greatest of all their princes said thirteen hundred years ago: "To turn away from that which is private, and to set one's face toward that which is public—this is the path of a minister." Yet, like Hitler, Minami believes himself inspired to lead his Japanese Reich toward its manifest destiny—world power.

Diplomacy has led him to cultivate the steadfast attachment of men of his ilk, and many of these men now hold key positions in Tokyo and on the mainland. He returned to Japan from Korea last January to initiate a Super Council, a brain trust. On it now sits Ugaki, with Araki beside him. Between

them, they could almost dictate the government, such is their intelligence and will power. This Super Council takes precedence over all the regular military organs of government, such as the Board of Field Marshals and Fleet Admirals, the Military Advisory Council, the General Staff, and the War Ministry itself. But the titular Minister of War, Sugiyama, received his training as Minami's vice-minister, during



CONCEALED DICTATOR: Governor-General Jiro Minami, of Korea, holds the key to Japan's present military dictatorship.

the manipulation of the Manchurian exploit. And without doubt, when he declared last summer that "China must be reduced to absolute military and economic helplessness," he was repeating Minami's instructions, usually transmitted by long-distance telephone from Korea. Likewise, Doihara, who was blamed by the foreign correspondents for his high hand in Manchuria, is but Minami's messenger. So with Hirota, who, through the secret Black Sea Society, has from his youth been pledged to the militarist will.

But it is not all beer and skittles. The Army and Navy have a long-standing political jealousy, and Admiral Suetsugu, now Home Minister, cherishes ambitions of his own. Prince Konoye, too, in spite of his earlier pli-

ancy, seems no longer supine. At the military behest he assisted Hirota in driving the National Mobilization measure through the recent Parliament, succeeding only on his personal promise that it would not be invoked during the present "incident." Now that military pressure seeks to force him to invoke it, he balks. At the moment it seems almost as if he were holding on to the premiership to keep it from becoming a dictatorship. During the last half of April, as the plans of Suetsugu and Minami began to emerge from concealment, this ugly word made its first appearance on the cables. Perhaps the Prince sees how badly he was duped, and rallies to the call of the people.

In spite of the rigid censorship, the people are making themselves heard. The current *Kaizo* declares boldly that "what they desire is the day of peace," and even mentions "spiritual strangulation." It foresees the Prince's downfall, and speculates on his successor. Minami is its "man of the future," on account of his "talented social technique" and "keen perception." "The broad and unhurrying manner of his personal temperament and appearance" is also listed as an asset, since it "makes him look as though he had a tinge of democracy. He looks as though he has no interest whatsoever in politics, and seems to avoid the topic."

These are faithful translations of striking phrases in the *Kaizo* article, which concludes its treatment of Minami by confessing that "no one knows just exactly whether he is interested in politics or not. But this is the point on which he is ingeniously wise. There are many campaigners from Korea in Tokyo, actively engaged in supporting him. Of course, he most probably is unaware of such facts, but they tend to harm him ultimately, and are rather dangerous. Against hasty actions he should be on guard."

One thing clear from these cryptic remarks is that Jiro Minami's concealment is no longer one hundred per cent. The old Shoguns, too, had to emerge now and then from seclusion, but held on to their power. However, they had only serfs to deal with, who had not tasted liberty.

THE PRESS LOOKS AT PUMP-PRIMING

By BURT M. McCONNELL

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S message to Congress last month was divided into three parts: The continuation of relief and relief work on an expanding scale; the expansion of credit for the improvement of business in general; and a program of new work to increase the immediate purchasing power of the nation—to "prime the pump." It is the most ambitious spending program the New Deal has advocated since 1933, estimates of the amount that will be available varying all the way from three billion dollars to more than five billions.

With respect to the direct expenditures recommended by the President, a survey of the country's newspapers should be more helpful and enlightening than the opinion of one person. For newspaper editorial writers are keen observers, and they keep their finger on the pulse of their particular community.

There are some who feel that pump-priming, such as the President proposes, is necessary to set the wheels of business recovery in motion once more. There are others who believe a vast new program of government spending is unwise; that the harm done to business recovery by increasing the public debt can not possibly be offset by the stimulus of spending. There are some who would reject the whole program, and others who would accept it in its entirety; in between are those who would accept some parts and reject others.

In making his recommendations to Congress, the President said, in part:

When this Administration took office it found business, credit, and agriculture in collapse. Starting in March, 1933, the Congress and the Administration devoted themselves unceasingly, not only to re-establishing reservoirs of credit, but to putting purchasing power in the hands of the consuming public and actually securing a more equitable distribution of the national income.

In 1928 the national income was eighty billion dollars; in 1932 it had fallen to less than forty billion dollars. Since the low point of 1932, each year, including 1937, has shown a steady increase in the income which the nation produced, reflected in increased wages and salaries, in increased dividends, interest, and individual's income. In 1937 the total of our citizens' income had risen to sixty-eight billion dollars.

But the very vigor of the recovery in

both durable goods and consumers' goods brought into the picture early in 1937 certain highly undesirable practices, which were in large part responsible for the economic decline which began in the later months of that year. Again production outran the ability to buy.

Thus by the autumn of 1937 the nation again had stocks on hand which the consuming public could not buy because the purchasing power of the consuming public had not kept pace with the production.

The simple fact is that the laying off of workers came upon us last autumn, and has been continuing at such a pace ever since that all of us—government and banking and business and workers and those faced with destitution—recognize the need for action.

The national income, which was thirty-eight billions in 1932, and sixty-eight billions in 1937, is now running at about fifty-six billions. If it can be increased to eighty billion dollars in the course of the next year or two, the whole economic picture will be different. Hundreds of thousands more people will be employed in private industry, hundreds of thousands fewer will be in need of relief, and consumer demand for goods will be greatly stimulated.

We do not believe that we can get an adequate rise in national income merely by investing, lending, or spending public funds. It is essential in our economy that private funds be put to work. All of us recognize that such funds are entitled to a fair profit.

As citizen income rises, government expenditures will go down and government tax receipts will go up. The higher the national income goes, the

faster will we be able to reduce the total of Federal and State and local debts. In all of this, government can not and should not act alone. Business must help. I am sure business will help.

We need more than the materials of recovery. We need a united national will.

We have at our disposal the national resources, the money, the skill of hand and head to raise our economic level—our citizens' income. Our capacity is limited only by our ability to work together."

Erwin D. Canham, Washington correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*, thus interprets the three main elements of the President's spending program:

1. Spending to maintain present levels of expenditure and employment: In this category are four items—\$1,250,000,000 for WPA or direct relief; \$75,000,000 for the National Youth Administration; \$50,000,000 for the CCC, and \$175,000,000 for the Farm Security Administration, which aims to help the hardest pressed farmers, such as share-croppers and drought refugees. Total, \$1,550,000,000. This direct relief does not go beyond the present rate of spending.

2. Spending beyond present levels: In this category comes the simple part of the new program—\$1,000,000,000 for local PWA projects; \$100,000,000 for Federal highways; \$37,000,000 for flood control; \$25,000,000 for public buildings; \$300,000,000 for housing. These items are, more or less, all of the pork-barrel variety. Total, \$1,462,000,000.

3. Methods of payment: Here comes the new rabbit out of the White House hat. The President proposed—and instantly carried into effect—the de-stilization of the inactive gold hoard. That was a nest-egg. Since December, 1936, the Government has been buying all gold that was offered it, paying for it with notes issued against new borrowings, and salting the gold away. This inactive fund contributed to the deficits of the last and the cur-



YOO HOO! MONEY CHANGERS!

rent fiscal year; it was part of the money that was being taken in by the Treasury in taxes or borrowings, and not being redistributed as purchasing power.

Now, however, the gold is transferred from the inactive fund to the Treasury reserves. The Treasury can begin issuing notes against it, and spending the notes. The hoard totals just under \$1,400,000,000.

The new spending, therefore, may be interpreted as being balanced by the "windfall" of money that has been paid for and added to the Federal deficit in months gone by. So the total to be added to the national debt by the President's plan is not the total Congress is being asked to appropriate, which is around \$3,000,000,000, but something like \$1,500,000,000. Of course, later in the fiscal year, when relief expands from \$1,250,000,000 listed above—which is only supposed to be good for seven months—the national debt may take another jump upward.

Another feature of the Roosevelt spending-lending program went into effect with the authorization to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to relax its restrictions on the lending of its \$1,500,000,000 of available funds, \$750,000,000 of which would be used to reduce requirements of the Federal Reserve Bank. This last and the de-sterilization of gold are credit-expansion measures.

There we have the President's program. Now, let's see what the leading newspapers of the United States think of it. For their editorial pages not only reflect public opinion; they mould it.

In his noon message to Congress, the President analyzed the economic emergency, and outlined his program for restoring vitality to industry and commerce. In his radio talk to the American people late that night, he sought to stimulate business executives and manufacturers, and to bolster the morale of the rank and file. Both meet with the entire approval of the *Philadelphia Record*. According to this paper, "Uncle Sam is going to fight the business depression as he fought the World War—by spending enough to win." "The program is inflationary," admits the *Atlanta Constitution*, "but this may be helpful—if not carried too far." The *Houston Chronicle* notes the "vigor and enthusiasm of the President; the same confident leadership that his message in the dark days of 1933 contained." Says the *Birmingham Age-Herald*:

In our judgment, this message to Congress, if considered with a fair and open mind, is a moderate, sane, and constructive message, even though one may not agree with all the specific proposals it advances. It is healing, rather than provocative. It is conservative at the same time that it is positive. And it proposes courageous action.

The majority of Americans rejoice that the President, whatever have been his errors, seems ready to try again in the same high spirit in which he first fought depression. And more. We believe that if they have a will to do so, the American people can find in the message evidence that the President has learned by experience; that he has profited by his mistakes.

In this paper's opinion, the spirit of the President's message is even more important at this hour than is the



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

REMEMBER WE BOTH HAVE TO WORK!

specific program for recovery he recommends. No vastly increased and irresponsible spending is here contemplated. On the contrary, wisely administered, this program on the whole might contribute enormously to the reversal of the recession.

"For the cross-purposes which hitherto have handicapped the struggle against the depression, government is by no means solely to blame," declares the *Hartford Times*. If business leadership had exhibited a greater amount of initiative and energy, the depression would have been cut short, maintains this Connecticut paper. The *New York World-Telegram* finds in the President's message to Congress—and his fireside chat—"a new and happier note; a new spirit of tolerance." The President, it believes, realizes that "the public is tiring of the tendency to make Washington a political and economic arena for gladiatorial combat, while the back country goes to hell." The *Des Moines Register* also charges private industry with having failed, in the earlier pump-priming era, to "take up the burden of employing the millions of jobless when the Government tried to taper off its spending program." This time we must not fail, says the *Register*; "no sane man dares contemplate a second fiasco."

The policy of Federal relief to the unemployed, believes the *Birmingham News*, "is so well established that few

will question the necessity of including the relief item." As for the President's recommendations for expanding the supply of funds for business, industry, and agriculture, "this," says the *Birmingham News*, "is inflation, but of so mild a character as to be easily controlled."

Jay Franklin, in a syndicated Washington dispatch to the *Des Moines Register*, says the situation in this country, as a result of the depression, "is like what it was in Italy in 1922 and in Germany in 1932—so alike as to be alarming." Continues Mr. Franklin:

I lived in Italy just before and just after Mussolini's March on Rome. The thing which made Fascism succeed in Italy was the same thing our big bankers and manufacturers are trying to do here—a complete deadlock of parliamentary democracy, a refusal to permit the political government to deal directly with the urgent social and economic problems of the Italian people.

I was in Germany in 1932, just before Hitler won supreme power, and I was shown the works by the Nazi party.

It happened in Germany as it happened in Italy ten years earlier. The big bankers and manufacturers had tied up parliamentary democracy in Germany so that the political government could not deal with the urgent social and economic problems of the German people. Rather than give up a little of their power and their money for the general welfare, they risked all of it, and junked German democracy for totalitarianism.

Now it is happening here. Every one knows the origin of the well-heeled, stream-lined, high-pressure opposition to President Roosevelt's effort to enact necessary social and economic reforms. Every one knows that it is the big bankers and manufacturers who have prevented any legislation on wages and hours of labor; who blocked ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

The problems which beset the American people will not wait. There is a limit to the time for which a man can go without food, a limit to the time for which he will patiently watch his wife and children sicken or starve. If the Democratic party shows that it can not be trusted to keep its word to the people who voted for its program, there can be no hope of responsible party government in this country. So the people will be forced in the direction of one-man government, as the lesser of the two evils—dictatorship or anarchy.

For every editorial and dispatch in favor of the President's lending and spending program, however, we find six against it. This checks with the latest poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion, conducted by Mr. George Gallup, which puts questions to a scientifically selected cross-section of voters in all sections of the country. Specifically, an April poll revealed 37 per cent in favor of increased govern-

ment spending, and 63 per cent against it. The *Portland Oregonian* even goes so far as to predict that, in sending his message to Congress, "Franklin D. Roosevelt signed his own death warrant as a statesman and a leader." On the opposite side of the nation, the *New York Herald Tribune* notices that "this great outpouring of taxpayers' money is timed nicely to coincide with the political needs of the New Deal in the Spring primaries and the November elections." Certainly, agrees Edwin W. Gableman, Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, "the overwhelming Democratic majorities in 1934 and 1936 were due, in large part, to the bounties passed out by the Government in the form of direct and indirect relief. The new program, with its greater outlay of money, will influence not only the Congressional elections of this year, but the Presidential election in 1940."

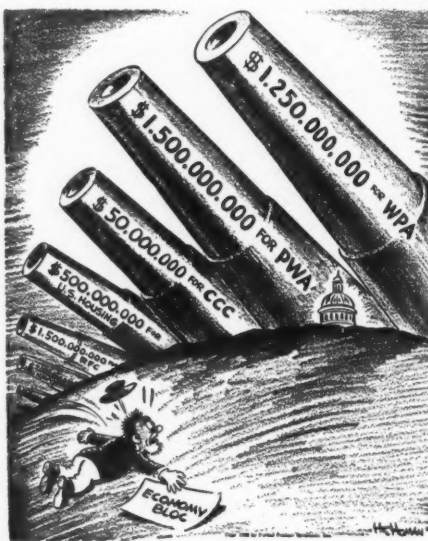
So much for politics. What of the economic aspects?

The idea behind the President's program, explains the *Burlington Free Press*, is that it will serve to speed up private capital in the money market, through the combined influence of fear of inflation and the consumer demand created with government money. The proposal, as the *Washington Post* sees it, "is to counter the present depression by the methods that were instrumental in creating it." This, to the *Post*, "is bankrupt statesmanship." Moreover, declares the *Macon Telegraph*, the Government "would thus weave a net around the cities and States; these will be lured into a morass of debt from which they will not recover in fifty years." Experience, we are reminded by the *Hartford Courant*, "has proved, both at home and abroad, that we can not spend our way back to prosperity. For five years we have been spending and spending in prodigal fashion, with little or no gain in reducing unemployment."

"How can the national income be increased by spending borrowed billions—which must ultimately be repaid through taxation?" asks the *Minneapolis Tribune*. "This isn't priming the business pump," maintains the *Tribune*; "it is filling a reservoir—and draining it off again to maintain a false semblance of prosperity." In the opinion of the *Chattanooga Times*, "it's throwing good money after bad." Early in 1933, recalls the *Boston Transcript*, President Roosevelt said: "For three long years the Government has been on the road toward bankruptcy." Well,

continues the Boston paper, "today we are \$18,000,000,000 nearer bankruptcy than we were then. Yet the same President Roosevelt now asks the nation to let him scatter more billions to the winds." To quote the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

Both in his message to Congress and in his fireside chat, President Roosevelt emphasized the increased buying



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power to be created by the pump priming which he advocates. The implication is that we can spend our way back to prosperity. Common sense tells us this is impossible; but in addition we have witnessed the tragic failure of the first Roosevelt attempt to do that very thing.

The mere fact that the depression has returned—or more accurately, perhaps, has never been broken—should be ample evidence of the futility of spending public funds as a sure high road to good times.

Furthermore, maintains the *Dallas News*, "it is unfair to the next generation, as well as dangerous to Federal finances, to continue spending borrowed money so freely; there must be greater shifting of the tax burden to State and local shoulders. Under a local relief setup, each city would pay only its own relief bills; under the present system, some of the cities must help to pay the bills of distant, but poorer, communities as well." In any case, avers the *Baltimore Sun*, "public spending never has been adequate, and never will be adequate, to provide the economic force this country needs." "The great defect in the President's theory for dealing with the depression," believes the *Indianapolis Star*, "is that it ignores inexorable natural laws." To continue spending, the *Mobile Register* is convinced, "will cause grave doubts as to the future value of American property and American money, and

lead to profound fear of the permanent collapse of private capital." Another danger is seen by the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, which raises the serious question "whether the Government, once embarked on the pump-priming course again, will ever be able to stop." Meanwhile, points out Dr. Glenn Frank, in the *Los Angeles Times*, "the unprecedented spending of the Government in recent years involves more than an economic problem; a moral issue is involved. Spending has resulted in a vast moral decline in millions of Americans. The habit of leaning on government grows. More and more people talk of security, rather than opportunity."

What, then, have the President's critics to suggest? The *Syracuse Post-Standard*, first of all, maintains that "business activity in recent years has been definitely stifled by additional taxes and artificial limitations and extra costs. Industries report tax advances of 30, 40, and 50 per cent. These levies make it impossible to hire more men or reduce charges to the consumer." The best thing the Government can do, therefore, believes the *Milwaukee Journal*, is to "reduce taxes, rather than to increase expenditures."

"The business of this country," asserts the *Indianapolis News*, "can be recovered only by business leadership, and until the Government works with this leadership, instead of against it, there will be little real recovery." According to the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*:

President Roosevelt will not see that his own mistakes are the cause of our economic trouble. He can not understand that national income and purchasing power and employment are all absolutely dependent upon an active, energetic, and confident business enterprise. It does no real good to increase the volume of credit. There are billions of dollars available now in the banks of the country that are practically unused because business has no desire to borrow.

Why? Because the full application of the driving force of capital has been made impossible for several years by the obstacles, restrictions, and punitive regulations laid upon it by the Roosevelt Administration and heavily burdened by the excessive taxes it has laid upon the use of capital.

The driving force of private capital is, in fact, the basic need of the country today. It is not possible to put recovery on a sound foundation; it is not possible to restore employment to normal occupation at fair wages; it is not possible for business and industry to regain the confidence so essential to economic stability and progress; it is not possible for the Government itself to recover its financial balance and put its credit on a secure basis, unless the political obstacles that have so completely dammed up the flow of private capital are removed.

RUSSIA'S TRADE WITH GERMANY

By KARL VAN GELDERLAND

DESPITE a bitter struggle for future domination of Eastern Europe and Western Asia, Nazi Germany and Communist Russia are engaged today in extensive trade relations. The two systems of government which appear to be unable to live in peace with each other politically enjoy the most cordial economic relationship.

Russia has not joined in the economic boycott against Germany, even though many advocates of the boycott are among those who can be counted upon as the Soviet's strongest supporters. Far from shutting out Nazi products, Russia is today Germany's second best customer. Likewise, Mr. Hitler has not hesitated to deal commercially with Mr. Stalin, despite the former's declarations against communism and his plea for a Nazified, as opposed to Communized, world. Germany ranks fifth among buyers of Russian goods. The Soviet has left to the host of anti-Nazis outside of Germany the task of punishing the Reich by barring its goods. But for itself, it has opened the trade doors as far as they will go.

Is it possible to reconcile this curious disparity between clashing political concepts and a trade relationship which encourages trade and commerce and so strengthens the very sources which it seeks to destroy?

This interesting phenomena has its roots in the World War aftermath, although Germany's interest in the Ukraine as a food base dates back to pre-War days. During the World War, the German army's first goal in the East was the domination of that territory which finally was occupied by the Central Powers. A great part of Germany's food supply during the War came from this part of South Russia. (Only recently, Hitler turned eyes east to the Ukraine, expressing openly what the German Army command had long envied.)

When Lenin first inaugurated his NEP policy, granting concessions to foreign capitalists, Walther Rathenau, German Foreign Minister and former head of the Imperial Board to control raw materials during the War met with the Russian Commissar Tschitscherin

This article answers the following questions:

1. Has Russia joined the economic boycott against Germany?
 2. Is there a trade pact today between Russia and Germany?
 3. Are any raw materials which might be used in the armament industries included in the goods shipped by Russia to Germany?
 4. Does Germany favor a smaller trade with Russia?
 5. Has there been any "sabotaging" of German or Russian goods by either country against the other?
-

in Rapallo in April, 1922 and concluded the first trade negotiations any capitalist country had undertaken with the Communist government. (Three months later Rathenau, who was Jewish, was shot down in Berlin for this "treason" by some Hitler sympathizers.) A little more than a decade later, Hitler himself was to prolong and thereby approve this treaty.

Rathenau, himself a representative of big industry in Germany, cleared the ground for the magnates of Rhine and Ruhr who were looking towards Russia as a potential market for their products. Krupp, the munitions manufacturer; Otto Wolff, dealer in iron and steel products; Thyssen, dominating coal and mines; these were the first foreign capitalists to overcome the popular aversion against dealings with the Communists, taking advantage of the splendid economic possibilities which the development of the Soviet offered. These same German capitalists who were to finance Hitler a few years later and who were to fight "Communism at home" immediately opened concessions in Russia. Krupp, for example, owned three tremendous agricultural estates in Russia in the early years of the '20s. One German concession employed 19,000 workers in Russia in 1924.

In 1925, a specific German-Russo trade agreement was concluded wherein Germany granted extensive credits for Russian purchases of machinery, with

most of the transactions handled through the Russian Trade Delegation in Berlin enjoying extra-territorial status. In the following years, especially during the depression following the great German crisis in 1931, large parts of German industry at the Ruhr worked almost exclusively on Russian orders. Russia obtained credit in Germany at a time when no other country was willing to invest in the Soviet. The Reich guaranteed up to 70 per cent of manufacturers' credits given to Russia (as she does also at present). In 1931, a German banking consortium granted a new 300-million-mark credit for orders placed with German industry. Russia had to pay high interest rates but got conditions which are almost unusual: credits to run as long as 29 months.

It must be admitted that Republican Germany and her anti-Communist economic royalists contributed in no small way to the steadily progressing industrialization of Soviet Russia. During that period all German plans were based on the assumption of a Russian-German alliance, to beat off (for Germany) the yoke of France and England represented by the Treaty of Versailles and (for Russia) a possible intervention of capitalist countries. It was no secret that the Reichswehr and the Red Army had "working agreements" which amounted to something like a military alliance between the two countries. Germany was about to reconquer a market in Soviet Russia which she had lost in Imperial Russia.

How Hitler "Saved" Stalin

When the Weimar Republic passed out of existence in January, 1933, Adolf Hitler was left with an unpaid Russian debt of approximately \$155,000,000 (gold) due in 1933. Russia, in the early months of that year, was in an extremely difficult situation, on the verge of defaulting for the first time since the Bolsheviks came to power. The world economic crises had slowed down Russian sales abroad, the proceeds from which were to have paid off debts.

Hitler's government, only four weeks

in power, "saved" the Soviet's credit. Nazi Germany, internally "liquidating" Communism and blaming the Reichstag fire upon Communists, came to the "aid" of a hard-pressed Communist regime. Russia received a new bank credit of \$33,000,000 (gold) for 12 months, part of which was later extended for another 14 months.

The clash between Dimitrov, charged with high treason, and Herman

Germany's total export of lathes and machine tools, 85 per cent of her export of cranes and 70 per cent of her excavator exports. . . . Our commercial relations had been most strongly developed with Germany. . . . We trust therefore that German circles will take the steps necessary to enable the USSR to meet its commitments with exports."

This bid for a further increase of trade, of exports, to Nazi Germany

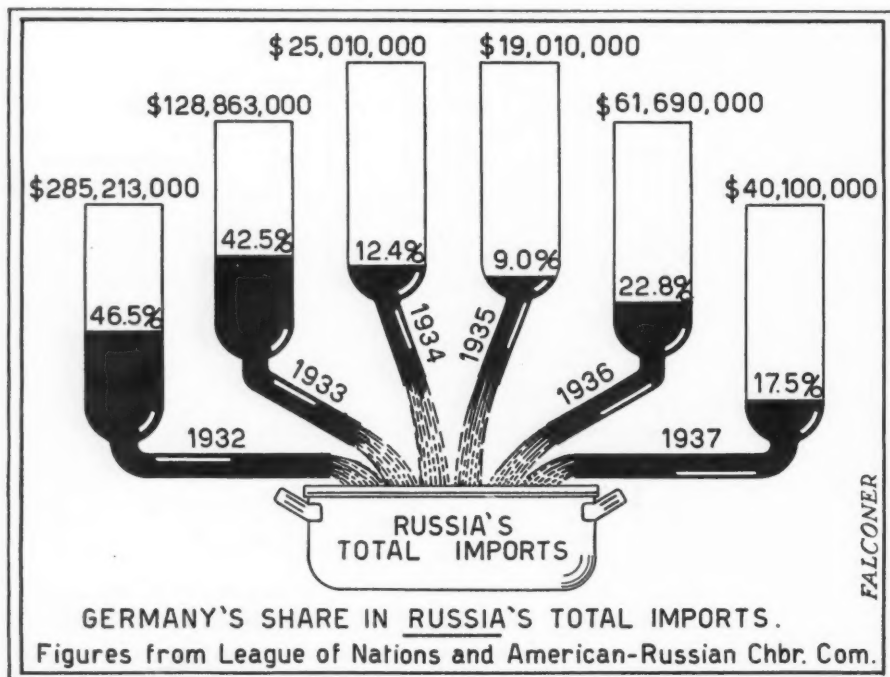
minimum and Russia's foreign credit still on a humble basis, Hitler Germany was the first country to grant the Soviet a cash bank credit. Two hundred million marks were supplied for new Russian purchases under special terms, government guaranteed, and the "Russian Committee of the German Industry," a subdivision of the "German NMA," made arrangements with a banking consortium. By this action, Hitler Germany confirmed its confidence in the Soviet's stability, granting the money for a five-year term! The only other country ever to give Russia a cash bank credit was Czechoslovakia, following shortly after Germany.

On December 24, 1936, Germany and Russia agreed to prolong the trade-and-payments agreement unchanged for 1937. Incidentally, this was three months after Hitler had declared at the Nuremberg Party Convention: "We have fought Bolshevism because its leaders had planned a slaughter house on Russian and Spanish lines (in Germany). . . . If Europe does not awaken to the danger of Bolshevik infection, then I fear that international commerce will not increase but decrease, despite all the good intentions of individual statesmen." Meanwhile Goebbels crowned the 1937 Party Convention with an explosive speech against the "red rulers of Moscow." Nor is the Soviet's contempt for Nazi Germany any secret.

How has Russian-German trade developed under these extraordinary circumstances?

In 1929, Weimar Germany purchased 3.2 per cent of all her imports from Russia. By 1932 this figure had risen to an all time high of 5.8 per cent. Then a decline to 4.7 per cent took place in 1934 but a year later Germany again bought 5.2 per cent of her purchases abroad from the Soviet. In 1936 the figure fell off to 2.2 per cent. (This last figure does not give a completely accurate picture since Germany's absolute imports were subjected to severe changes during that period.)

Germany plays an extremely greater role in Russia's foreign trade than the Soviet does in Germany's. In 1929 Germany supplied 22 per cent of all Russian imports. In 1932 Russia bought almost half of her total purchases abroad from Germany (\$285,213,000)* at a time when France shipped only about 1/2 per cent of Russian imports and the United States 4.5 per cent. In Hitler's first year of rule, 42.5 per cent of Russian imports



Goering, as a state witness at the Reichstag fire trial in fall of 1933, illustrates the political and economic discrepancy between the two countries' relationship. Goering declared there that he had serious doubts about Russia's ability and willingness to pay off her debts to Germany. Goering's adversary, Dimitrov, expressed his utmost confidence in Russia. This attack of a high Nazi official on Soviet Russia's credit was never repeated. Russia wanted to pay.

And Russia did. She paid with gold, silver, timber, oil, manganese, ore, furs. She paid with materials which Germany needed to build up her war machine. When foreign currency and gold were as rare in Germany as they are today—in the years 1933–1935—the dwindling reserves of the German Reichsbank were filled and replenished with Russian gold imports, the only gold imports of importance that the Nazi regime ever received (aside from the gold confiscated in recent weeks in Austria). The late A. P. Rozengolz, former Russian Commissar of Foreign Trade, stated in 1934: ". . . in 1932 the USSR purchased 70 per cent of

"to meet Russia's commitments" was made during the second year of the Hitler regime. (At that time Hitler's aggressive intentions had already become evident to the outside world, and liberals, socialists and Communists had long ago joined the world-wide boycott movement of Nazi Germany's goods.) German industry had executed orders for Soviet Russia during 1925–35 amounting to several billions of marks, and the Rhine and Ruhr industrial barons had no intention of losing Soviet business just because Hitler disliked the Soviet Union. When in 1934 Dr. Schacht's "New Plan" was initiated ("We buy as much from a country as it buys from us"), trade with Russia was, paradoxically enough, the only commerce which was comparatively "free" from the burdensome bureaucratic regulations of the Third Reich. Export and import trade with all other countries in the world was most strictly regulated.

Credits for Russia

On April 9, 1935, in the third year of Hitler's anti-Soviet crusade, with Germany's credit abroad reduced to a

*All calculations in depreciated American dollars.

came from the Third Reich (\$128,863,000). A year later Germany still held 12.4 per cent of the Russian import trade. In 1935, due to the exhaustion of German credits to Russia, Germany's share in Russian imports dropped to a low of 9 per cent (\$19,000,000). The same year, Soviet Russia got its first cash bank credit for new purchases—from Nazi Germany.

Germany's share in Russian imports again reached a new high in 1936 of 23 per cent (\$61,690,000), the year when Hitler was launching his most violent anti-Soviet campaign. The United States trailed behind with 15.5 per cent while Russia's ally, France, did not share in more than 3 per cent of Russia's imports.

One might have expected that in 1937 the German-Russian trade relations would cool off because that year saw the political conflict between Hitler and Stalin intensified. The Spanish issue found both countries opposing each other more bitterly than ever before. And yet Germany last year supplied 17.5 per cent (\$40,000,000) of all Russian purchases abroad, only second to the United States which supplied 21.5 per cent. On the Soviet's export list, Nazi Germany was its fifth best customer although far behind England which was the leading buyer. Germany's purchases from Russia amounted to about 6 per cent (\$21,500,000). (Russian exports to Spain must be considered as "abnormal" due to the civil war.)

If we compare these figures with the amounts Germany spent to purchase important materials abroad, we find that German sales to Russia in 1936 paid for all of Germany's imports of iron ore during that same year. Or we find that German sales to Russia in 1937 might have paid for almost half of Germany's wool imports.

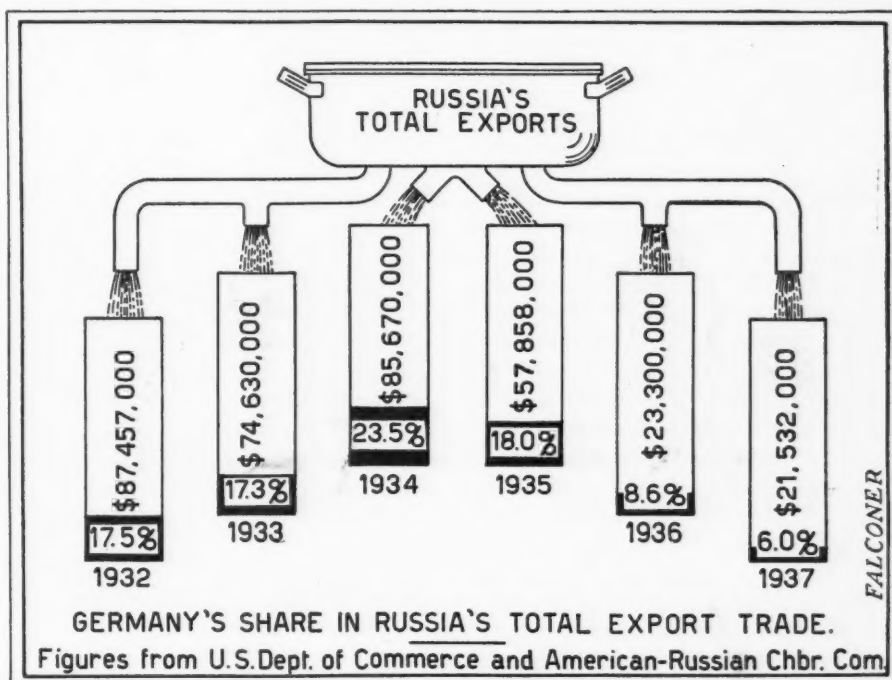
The total amounts involved in the Russo-German trade are not exorbitant compared with figures which count in world trade. They are important, however, for Russia, which has a comparatively small foreign trade, and to a lesser degree for Germany, one of the world's largest export countries. Russia's economy still today rests greatly on *Binnen-Handel*.

The Russian total exports in the years of 1932 to 1936 fell off from 296 million gold dollars to 160 million gold dollars. Russian exports to Germany which amounted to 87.5 million dollars in 1932 dropped to 74.5 million dollars in 1933, the year of Hitler's rise to power. However, in 1934 Russia ex-

ported as much to Germany as it did in the last year of the Weimar Republic. Almost one-fourth of all Russian exports went to Germany in that year. Even in 1935 Russia sold 18 per cent of her exports to Nazi Germany, a figure which is large in trade relations even between major nations. In 1936, exports to Germany fell off to 8.6 per cent, still a large share. That year's exports to Germany amounted to 23.5

and Nazi countries are disturbed by "sabotage" from either side. The Nazis, for instance, accused the Soviet in 1936 of blocking exports of much needed raw materials in order to slow down German rearmament at a time when Russia was increasing its purchases of German-made machinery. This was adjusted.

There are a number of other indications and facts which show that



million dollars, or enough almost to pay for Russia's total purchases abroad of iron and steel.

Arming a "bad" neighbor

Paradoxically, the German rearmament industry is one of the beneficiaries of the Russo-German trade. Manganese ore, used in the production of hard steel, constitutes one of the biggest items on Russia's export list to Germany. In 1935, more than half of Germany's imports of manganese ore came from Soviet Russia, which also supplied 51 per cent of Germany's imported paper pulp, 54 per cent of her asbestos, 75 per cent of her flax, 90 per cent of her oil cake imports.

In 1936, Russia, on the other hand, bought 30 per cent of Germany's export of tool machinery and rolling mill equipment—for the Five Year Plan. Three-fourths of Germany's exports to Russia consisted of machinery and finished products. Germany even lists the sale in 1936 of a small share of airplanes and motor cars exported to Russia.

Occasionally, even these smooth trade relations between the Socialist

German-Russian trade relations as a whole, even today, have hardly been affected by the political controversy between the Communists and the Nazis. The industrial group around Schacht in Germany, still a powerful influence, would favor an even bigger export trade with the Soviets. Germany needs markets, even if she has to sell to Russia. Russia, on the other hand, has no other choice, in some instances, than to buy in the Third Reich, although it is difficult to decide if such purchases which strengthen the Soviet enemy could not have been gradually shifted to other less hostile countries. The sale of raw materials which Germany, on account of her shortage of foreign currency, could not have executed elsewhere, served also to support a "deadly adversary." Under "normal" conditions, an economic alliance between the two countries must be considered as ideal, the respective needs supplementing each other. If economic reasoning would have its way, Russia and Germany would be engaged in a far more extensive trade relationship than they are today.

LABOR'S CYCLE IN SEATTLE

*Two years ago, labor ran Seattle
Today, Seattle is running labor*

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

SEATTLE was once labor's mightiest fortress. It seemed impregnable. Against its bastions the forces of business and conservatism battered in vain—and finally surrendered. To the nation at large, Seattle symbolized labor strength and dominance. Economically as well as politically, labor ran the town.

A strike shut down the largest newspaper in the Pacific Northwest for three months. The boss of the Teamsters' Union dictated what beer could be sold and what could not. He also decided when the city had enough gasoline stations or bakeries. A member of his union was elected to Congress. An attorney for the teamsters was sent to the United States Senate. A complete labor ticket swept into the City Council. Roosevelt carried the county more than 2 to 1. The mayor said, "Union labor dominates this town."

That was less than two years ago.

Now, this stronghold of labor has fallen. A new garrison mans the battlements. It is a garrison composed of public officials pledged to end violence, racketeering and intimidation in labor's ranks. The late Mayor John F. Dore, who said, "Labor is running the community," has been superseded by 38-year-old Arthur B. Langlie, who says, "Labor in its activities will not be permitted to step on the toes of innocent persons." Where a labor slate was elected to the City Council last year, an entire lineup of conservatives holds sway now.

What has happened to cause this startling change? The answer is simple. Labor was united in its 1936 and 1937 forays at the polls. Today, it is split by a chasm deep and wide. The recent developments in Seattle are of significance to the whole nation. What effect will labor's internecine strife have on the Congressional elections later this year? On the Presidential contest in 1940? Will the conservatives be returned to power in the country?

The trend in Seattle has proved several facts very conclusively. One is that even in its sturdiest citadel, labor cannot survive a bitter division. Another is that the internal conflict in labor has alienated many potential middle class



Oregonian Photo

TOUGH GUY: Governor Charles H. Martin, of Oregon, told his sheriffs to get the labor gangs and "beat hell out of 'em!"

adherents of labor's aims. Still, a third is the unprecedentedly grim labor warfare along the Pacific seaboard which may cost the New Deal that region, heretofore Roosevelt's strongest sector outside the Democratic South.

The mayoralty finals in Seattle were between Langlie, a youthful councilman who entered politics sponsored by the conservative Order of Cincinnatus, and Victor Aloysius (Just Call Me "Vic") Meyers, State of Washington's famous clowning lieutenant-governor. Meyers accused Langlie of being a Republican enemy of the New Deal. He said he was supported by Liberty Leaguers, power companies and banks. Less than eighteen months earlier, similar speeches had enabled Meyers to carry Seattle better than 2 to 1 when seeking reelection as lieutenant-governor. This time they proved duds. Langlie won decisively.

There seems little doubt that the split in labor has caused this sudden shift in public opinion. The day after the Seattle election, Meyers' campaign manager, a liberal King's County com-

missioner, said, "If the fight continues here between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. all progressive labor candidates are certain to be defeated in the future."

Tide of Unionism

Throughout the Far West, from the swift reaches of the Columbia to the jagged crags of the Rockies, the Republicans are preparing to take advantage of the present political situation. The labor warfare on the sundown side of the Continental divide has been far more savage than that in the rest of the country. Dave Beck of the A. F. of L. and Harry Bridges of the C. I. O. are two union leaders who advocate direct action as readily as they endorse peaceful methods. In the lumber industry in the Northwest, their followers are struggling in what is virtually open combat. Mills have been boycotted, closed and barricaded.

In addition, both men have incurred deep-rooted antagonisms among the general public. Bridges has been in continual trouble with the immigration authorities; he is not an American citizen, although he came to this country from Australia nearly a generation ago. He also has made several speeches urging the ultimate abolition of the employer class. Beck is of another sort. Although decidedly conservative—he is an outright partisan of his local Chamber of Commerce—he rules tyrannously through "goon squads" that epitomize labor coercion to the region. As these words are written, approximately fifty of Beck's teamster members are in jail in Oregon after a roundup of alleged union racketeers. Highly odious to most of Seattle's housewives and consumers is a series of price-fixing business arrangements known facetiously as "Dave Beck's voluntary NRA."

With both these unique labor leaders anathema to the general public, the Republicans are alert to their chance. They see an opportunity to win back the Far Western states. The majority of the people along the Pacific seaboard are liberal. They are sympathetic to trade unionism—but not to Beck and Bridges. The former is regarded in the public mind as a ruthless despot, the

latter as a dangerous radical. The Republicans think this may swing the voters back toward conservatism. Langlie's victory is an indication.

Open Warfare

The warfare in lumber is the pedestal of the present labor feudalism on the Pacific Coast. A few years ago the timber industry was rocked by a series of strikes. Out of those strikes the workers brought a withering contempt for the A. F. of L. The organizers, provided by the Brotherhood of Carpenters, had wilted in almost every crisis. Last year this sentiment was translated into an overwhelming decision to affiliate with the C. I. O. The leaders of the A. F. of L. in the West got panicky. Lumber is the region's principal industry. The abdication of the lumberjacks would leave the A. F. of L. along the Coast with only a shell-like organization. The predicament of the old-line labor outfit was desperate. At this juncture Beck's resourcefulness became apparent.

"Just let the C. I. O. try to move or market that lumber," he challenged, as he pounded a pudgy fist on his new mahogany desk.

A boycott was clamped on; Beck's teamsters would not truck C. I. O. lumber, and A. F. of L. carpenters would not drive nails into it. Mills and lumber camps were forced to close. Thousands of men were thrown out of work. Most of them are still idle. They have been told they can get on a payroll

again when they forsake the C. I. O. for the A. F. of L. "In Portland," says the *Oregon Voter*, a conservative weekly representing the business viewpoint, "the C. I. O. lumber workers are being starved into submission; the plight of their families is tragic. They feel very bitter over being compelled by A. F. of L. ruthlessness to give up the union of their own choice."

The struggle has been both verbal and direct. There have been fights with fist and blackjacks and ax-handles. Each side has had a long hospital list. Prizefighters and thugs have been hired to take care of some of the teamsters' interests in the quarrel, and the A. F. of L. unions have kept up a constant demand that the aggressive, young president of the C. I. O. lumberjacks, Harold Pritchett, be deported to his native country of Canada. The C. I. O. has smeared the A. F. of L. with the cry of "racketeers" and "phonies." The A. F. of L. has retaliated by branding the C. I. O. loggers as "aliens" and "communists."

Gooning the Goons

Gradually the public has turned from both groups. Disgust with the desperate Far Western labor conflict was the basic reason for the overwhelming proportions of Langlie's victory. Not since the unions resorted to political action, has a conservative candidate ever triumphed so decisively in Seattle. The supporters of labor on the Pacific Coast are aware that the savage warfare

within the unions may defeat New Deal candidates and elect conservative Republicans this autumn. "No further time must be lost in reestablishing unity in the labor movement," recently warned the *News* of the left-wing Washington Commonwealth Federation. "The New Deal is in jeopardy."

The pendulum usually makes a full swing. The A. F. of L. in the West has been led by Beck and his notorious "goons." The C. I. O. in the region has been headed by two aliens, Bridges and Pritchett. Neither circumstance is conducive to public good-will. The enemies of labor along the Pacific seaboard look ahead enthusiastically to the most lush harvest of anti-union legislation in the history of the country. This is evident in Oregon, where the lumber struggle has been concentrated, and where the feud between Beck and Bridges has been fought.

On the streets and countrysides of Oregon, petitions are being circulated for an initiative measure that would practically destroy the unions in the state. Picketing would become a virtual impossibility. Union expenditures could be held up for years in the courts. The measure goes far beyond the customary proposals to incorporate labor organizations. Its restrictions would reduce the trade union movement in the state to a nullity. And although the people of the tolerant and progressive Northwest are ordinarily suspicious of this type of legislation, the initiative is quite likely to be adopted. Enough sig-

Arbitration of Labor Disputes

THE impossibility of outlawing strikes makes it necessary for the democratic state, more than other forms of government, to establish some machinery for settling disputes, because in giving ultimate responsibility to the people the state has to protect the unity of the people from being disrupted by warring groups.

Conciliation and arbitration are the means of the democratic state for preventing industrial disputes, offering the contestants a possibility of changing the status quo, of settling new rights in a peaceful way. Their presupposition, like that of democracy, is that some will to reach an understanding exists. They will succeed only when the unrest is not due to dissatisfaction with the economic organization as such; when the predominant attitude is one of extreme liberalism or communism, arbitration will fail to establish industrial peace. But if there is a real desire for understanding, then arbitration and conciliation, by helping to mitigate the inferiority feeling of the working class as well as the autocratic demands of the employers, tend to create the sense of unity. The important question is what form these negotiations should take so that the democratic principles they embody can best be served.

There can be no doubt about the democratic character

of conciliation and voluntary arbitration. They are methods of settling differences by way of negotiation; like parliamentarism they stand for the principle of decision of conference as opposed to decision by force. They are based on the fundamentally democratic principle that there should be no class government, no misuse of group power, no exploitation of one group by another. Their aim is to combine rival groups into one labor unit with a community of interests.

Conciliation represents the democratic principle that the parties have to arrange their own affairs, and in voluntary arbitration too the principle of self-government is preserved. Here a solution has to be found which corresponds to the relative bargaining strength of the rival parties, or they will not accept the award. Voluntary arbitration is formalized collective bargaining with outside help. The weaker party has to agree because it has not the power to get more, but there is some protection of the weaker group because the investigation of facts promotes mutual understanding.

—*Political and Economic Democracy*, edited
by Max Ascoli and Fritz Lehmann

natures to place it on the ballot have readily been obtained. The people vote on it in the fall. It will be the first time in history that a general electorate will have a chance to pass upon a plan to control and curtail the activities of organized labor. The outcome will be closely studied throughout the nation.

Tough Governor

Oregon has a governor who was once a major-general in the army. He is

tional Guardsmen in the state and each of them knows how to use a rifle."

What is going to be the result of all this? The people of the Northwest are generally tolerant and liberal. Governor Martin's advice to the farmers to use their pitchforks against labor organizers brought a rebuke from the State Grange rather than a response. Will the tumult in Western labor alter this attitude? Will reaction to the present union warfare set back organized

A sidelight on the Seattle political circus is that Langlie's victory constituted a sharp political setback for John Boettiger, the son-in-law of President Roosevelt whom Hearst sent westward in 1936 to revivify the strike-bound *Post-Intelligencer*. Boettiger was decidedly friendly to the Dore-Beck regime. His financial editor published a series of articles arguing that labor conditions were not as bad as painted in Seattle, and the paper ran a full page essay glorifying the city as a "model industrial community." Boettiger himself prophesied "a long period of harmonious labor relations" and urged that everyone say: "Seattle is my town and I'm going to fight for it!"

Langlie, on the other hand, assailed labor conditions in Seattle under the Dore-Beck egis. He said labor had to clean house, and condemned price-fixing combinations between business men and labor czars. The voters elected him overwhelmingly, accepting his version of the labor situation rather than that of a "model industrial community" put forth by Boettiger's *Post-Intelligencer*.

The grim labor troubles along the Pacific Coast—and more particularly in the Pacific Northwest—seem destined to continue. The end is not in sight. Already these struggles have had significant results. A conservative city administration rules in the labor stronghold of Seattle. An anti-union initiative measure of sweeping proportions may be enacted at the polls in Oregon, and the governor of that generally-liberal state has manifested amazing fascist sympathies in his pronouncements against labor. The Republicans, for the first time in eight years, see a chance for some triumphs in the West. They were blamed for the depression. They now are ready to blame the New Deal for the angry warfare between Dave Beck and Harry Bridges.

The whole labor embroglio along the Pacific slope proves several conclusions. Chief among these is the fact, that the trade unions must reckon with public opinion and prejudices. The C. I. O. did not so reckon when it made two outspokenly-radical aliens its spokesmen in the Northwest. The A. F. of L. in the Northwest blundered similarly when it placed its destiny in the care of Beck and the prizefighters doing his picket duty. Even in the country's most progressive region, such policies are likely to arouse antagonisms ultimately fatal to the aims and objectives of the labor movement.



Associated Press

FEMININE PARTIES: Seattle clubwomen picket the Labor Temple in protest against the strike that shut down the Hearst *Post-Intelligencer*.

Charles H. Martin, formerly military commandant of the Panama Canal Zone. A few of his recent utterances reveal the extent to which some officials in the Far West are using the present turmoil to arouse anti-labor hysteria. Not long ago, in discussing the chaos in the lumber industry, Governor Martin said, "The Italians wouldn't submit; they organized their blackshirts. The Germans wouldn't submit, so they had their brownshirts and Hitler. I don't believe Americans will submit." The governor, an anti-New Deal Democrat, also advised the sheriffs of his state to move against labor rioters and "beat hell out of 'em!"

At a public meeting Governor Martin shouted, "Crack their damn heads! Those fellows are there for nothing but trouble—give it to them!"

He also counseled the State Police to apply third degree methods to the men taken in anti-union raids, and ominously observed, "We have 3,500 Na-

labor fifteen or twenty years along the Coast?

Several facts are obvious. One is that Beck and Bridges will not make peace for a long time to come; the forces they represent are too bitterly opposed to reach terms in the near future. Another is that although Langlie is Seattle's new mayor, Beck is still the city's labor boss. His power and influence may be modified, but he will not be shorn of them without a desperate struggle. Many business groups are ready to help him resist dethronement; they would rather see Beck in command than his C. I. O. adversaries from the woods and waterfront, and they are afraid his elimination might open the Puget Sound area to Harry Bridges. This reasoning prompted the *Argus*, Washington's leading conservative weekly, to prefer the late Mayor Dore to Langlie, the avowed conservative candidate. Dore had been frankly partial to Beck and the A. F. of L.

LAMPS FOR THE OIL OF CHINA

By HARRISON FORMAN

FOR years we have referred to kerosene as the American institution of China. Today, however, kerosene in the Orient is rapidly becoming as old-fashioned as it is in the United States. The Chinese—those clever Chinese—have invented a tricky little lamp which burns, not kerosene, but a specially prepared domestic oil. The new fluid is not only cheaper but burns brighter and longer than kerosene.

Only two years old and but one year past its experimental stage, the invention has caused even more of a stir than did the American kerosene lamp when first brought to China. Revenue of American oil companies from kerosene sales in China fell off \$8,000,000 last year. And this despite a war year in which the normal kerosene needs were greatly increased. The Chinese Government has been pushing the new product and has given it a semi-official status. The manufacturers, now turning out the lamps at a rate of 400,000 a year, report that their greatest difficulty is in meeting the demand.

Both oil and lamp are the proud achievements of 29-year-old Chung Lin, the "Edison of China." Chung, a trained chemical engineer, has been toying with gadgets ever since he was old enough to grasp one. He was hardly out of his 'teens when he invented an ingenious Chinese mimeograph machine that had previously been thought impossible because of the vast number of characters, and their delicate shadings, in the Chinese language.

The Chinese will tell you that Chung leads a charmed life. Six years ago he had hardly finished setting up a laboratory in Shanghai when the Japanese launched their 1932 massacre. The laboratory was blown up by an enemy explosive not long after Chung had left the building. Today, Chung's modern, fully-equipped factory stands on the same site.

Even though the Japanese have invaded, and now govern Shanghai, the lamp factory continues to turn out its products with little interruption in routine. The strategy of the invader is to control, rather than to exterminate, the business and economics of China.

Thus, Chinese citizens are permitted to go about their various affairs under strict Japanese surveillance. Punitive measures against civilians are infrequent.

The Japanese had been in control of Shanghai for several months when I visited Chung Lin at his factory late last year. Dressed in a handsome double-breasted suit, his appearance was not unlike that of the typical young American executive. He spoke fluent English and fingered several oil lamps on the display desk in his modern, well-furnished office.

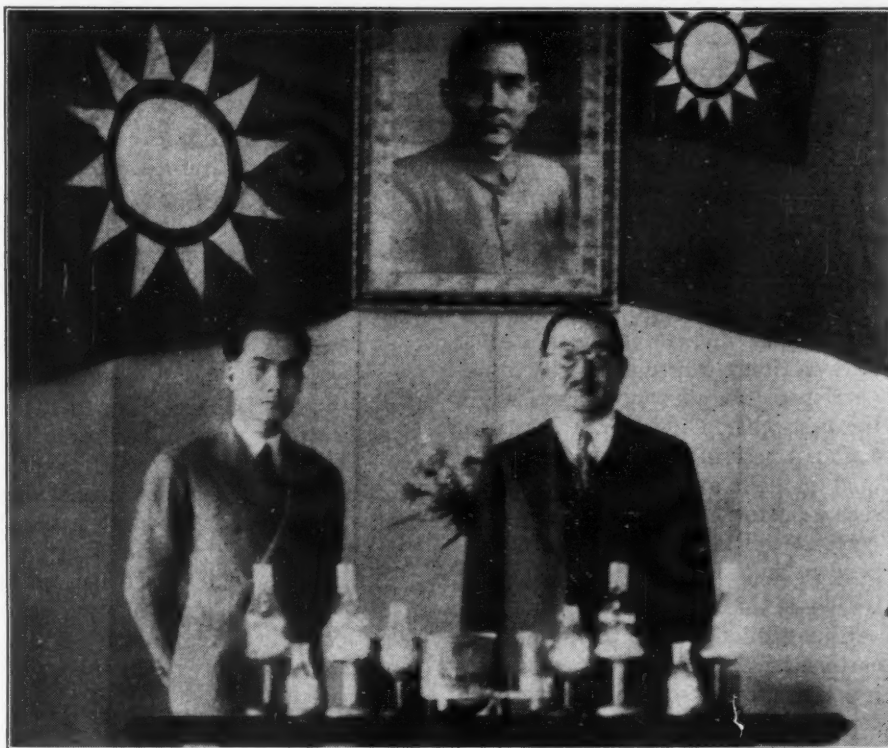
Westernized Education

Like thousands of young Orientals Chung Lin was trained in Chinese schools, but in Western ways. Now they are engineers, doctors, chemists, skilled mechanics and teachers, devoting their lives toward national reconstruction. The Japanese invasion? That will only increase their effort and number, he declared, to realize the goal of national

reconstruction by means of national defense. He was confident that his generation would rebuild China for the Chinese.

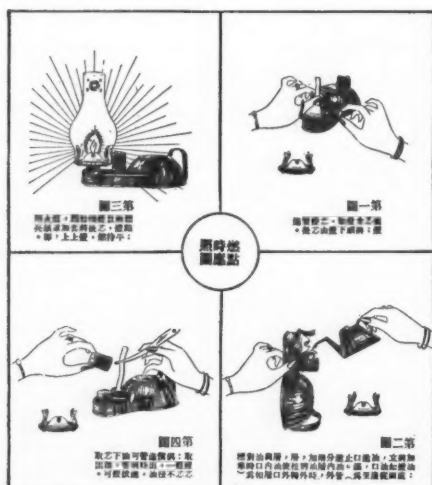
Chung Lin came from a poor but cultured family. A product of Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement, he graduated from Ling Nan University in Canton. He then spent two years in France studying research chemistry. Returning to China in 1931, he obtained a government patent on his mimeograph machine and found almost instant acclaim.

It was quite by accident that he conceived the idea of the lamp. He overheard a group of soy bean producers complain of the serious drop in the demand for their product. If a new market for the bean could be found, the industry might be able to right itself. Chung knew that oil extracted from the bean and other vegetables was once a thriving rural industry. These plant oils furnished fuel for the ancient oil lamps of his forebears; when the



Harrison Forman

CHINESE GREATS: Chung Lin, the "Edison of China," and Dr. H. H. Kung, of the Executive Yuan, display the new lamps which are making history in the Orient. Appropriately, the portrait above the display is that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.



THE INSTRUCTIONS: Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets explaining the use of the kerosene-less lamp have been distributed throughout the country. A page of the pamphlet is reproduced above.

modern kerosene lamp was introduced, the old oils went into virtual eclipse. But if a new plant-oil lamp could be perfected that would be cheaper and safer than the foreign kerosene lamp, the vegetable oil industry would thrive once again.

Chung set up a laboratory in the Chapai district of Shanghai in 1932 to perfect such a lamp. He made exhaustive experiments with a wide variety of refined oils extracted from soy beans, peanuts, cabbage and cotton-seed and other plants. He didn't get very far on his first lamp model. A Japanese projectile completely demolished his self-financed laboratory.

Today, this perfected seed-oil lamp burns brightly in hundreds of thousands of Chinese homes with a flame superior in every way to that of the kerosene lamp and is fed by fuel made from a wide variety of Chinese-grown plants.

Until Chung Lin invented the seed-oil lamp, American oil companies had a monopoly in lighting the homes of interior China, where electricity is undeveloped. As was well described in the best-seller, *Oil For the Lamps of China*, American oil interests made millions of dollars by giving away kerosene lamps to replace the ancient and defective oil lamp, making China dependent on the kerosene oil sold to her people.

Chung admits that the traditional earthen lamp of his forefathers was inferior to the kerosene lamp. It gave a smoky, evil-smelling flame, caused by the inadequate flow of impure vegetable oil to a crude wick. In his own words, "the flame was in a position of permanent gloom," and the "foreign

lamp rightly kicked the native product out of significance." Now that they are making their own lamps, the Chinese use oil extracted from tons of vegetables and seeds grown by thousands of toiling peasants throughout the country.

Looking at the array of shining lamps with smokeless transparent chimneys, it was hard to believe that such a simple invention could have far-reaching significance. In a highly industrialized country it would go virtually unrecognized. But in China, it is a veritable Aladdin's lamp. It cuts down foreign trade deficits, fills the coffers of the treasury. It is a shot in the arm of rural economy, reviving agricultural activity. The people are captured by the flame of their own product and are imbued with a spirit of national consciousness. The will to resist the invader stiffens. By the light of this China seed-oil lamp, a new confidence is kindled toward rebuilding a modern China for the Chinese.

Timely Invention

Mr. Chung's invention came at a most opportune time. Government and business leaders of China had been battling for years to solve the problem of rural bankruptcy that had hung like a pallor of futility over Chinese life. The leaders knew of the intimate link between rural bankruptcy and the woefully unfavorable foreign trade balance. With a yearly outflow of nearly one-half billion (Chinese) dollars* in payment for imports in excess of exports there was reason for national alarm.

When it is realized that one-fifth of this huge drain on Chinese wealth, amounting to \$120,000,000 annually, was in payment for oil, the significance of the oil lamp becomes more apparent. Ninety per cent of this imported oil was kerosene.

"To make a saving of \$100,000,000 annually is a big thing, even for the United States, is it not?" queried the inventor with a wry smile. Proceeding from the display room to the factory, he added, "but to China that saving can be the difference between national independence and economic servitude."

In the early thirties, the odds seemed greatly against the government's campaign for national reconstruction. The Japanese had already severed the prosperous northern provinces and encouraged widespread smuggling on its borders, resulting in enormous losses of revenue to the Chinese Central Govern-

ment. Moreover, Chiang Kai-shek's many campaigns of futile civil war against the dogged Red Army had impoverished the countryside and drained the nation's treasury.

In all, foreign invasion, civil war, drought, foreign concessions, and the foreign trade deficit had contributed to the serious financial straits that tied the hands of the Chinese Government.

With a full treasury, however, the government could adequately deal with its internal problems. "Stop the leak!" was the cry from all parts of China. Stop the outflow of Chinese silver into foreign hands. Change the course to an inflow of Chinese money invested in national reconstruction.

During this surge for national salvation that swept the land, Chung Lin acquired backing from industrialists to erect a new laboratory on the outskirts of Shanghai where he completed his experiments. Afterwards, in 1935, he was granted a government patent on his perfected lamp.

The government realized the important part the invention could play in China's national economy, and helped subsidize a factory to produce the lamps on a national scale. The China Plant-Oil Lamp Co., Ltd. was formed in 1936 with Dr. H. H. Kung, then vice-president of the Executive Yuan and Minister of Finance, as chairman of the board of directors.

Chung Lin showed me through the factory last year. The whirring of motors and pulleys and the steady thump of stamping machines made it difficult



Harrison Forman

IN THE FACTORY: The new lamp is manufactured in the best traditions of the Western industrial plant. Despite the Japanese invasion, the factory continues to turn out the lamps at the rate of 400,000 a year.

*The Chinese dollar, or yuan, is worth \$.29½ on the current foreign exchange.

to believe that it was not a New England plant. Despite an initial production capacity of 400,000 lamps annually with skilled operators working day and night, the factory was unable to meet the increasing demand for the product. The seed-oil lamp is produced in a dozen different models; there are wall and table models for lighting homes; street and portable types for lighting thoroughfares; signal and safety lamps for soldiers; stove lamps for making tea.

Noting that the Chinese oil lamp is not unlike our kerosene model excepting for a projecting cylinder, I asked Chung to explain its operation. The trick, he said, is in the cylinder. By placing the oil base higher than the burner, with the cylinder-like vacuum compression chamber between, the natural forces of gravity and atmospheric pressure were applied to help the free flow of a more refined seed-oil to an improved wick.

To meet the small purse of Mr. Average Chinese the lamps sell from twenty cents and upward. By burning seed-oil instead of kerosene for two or three months, sufficient saving is made to pay the initial cost of the ordinary house lamp. What is important, too, to the Chinese masses is that the saving made by burning the cheaper fuel for several hours pays for an extra bowl of rice.

China as an Exporter

Many refining plants have been erected in local centers to collect and distribute the oil for lamp fuel. China launched what is believed to be the first organized sales campaign to sell a Chinese industrial product in foreign countries. Already orders have been pouring in from the Philippines and Siam. Meanwhile, manufacturers have established branch offices in every province to facilitate a wide distribution of their lamp.

In a country where the spectre of famine is always present, the immense value of the residue of plant cellulose is not overlooked. A new supply of food is made available for plants, livestock, and peasant, as the compressed vegetable matter is readily converted by the local refineries into the sorely needed fertilizer, fodder, and flour-meal. Other manufacturing plants, financed largely by reduced kerosene imports, are supplying the large quantities of glass chimneys, fiber wicks, lacquers and other parts that go into the manufacture of the lamp.

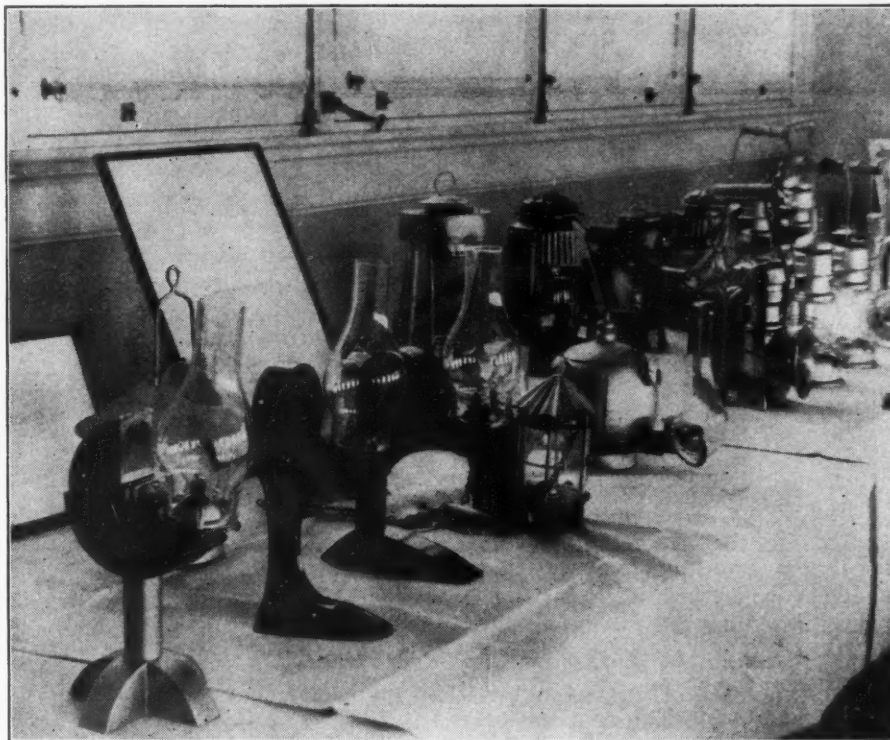
It has been necessary to do a first-rate selling job in introducing the new

model. Its superiority over the kerosene and ancient oil lamp has been stressed. Attractively illustrated literature has been widely distributed and displays have been shown throughout the country. Detailed pictures helped illiterate to use the lamp.

The government sponsored company launched a national advertising campaign to push sales, adopting original slogans such as, "Do you know that the

2. It is cheaper to operate, especially in the interior where the cost of transporting kerosene makes the imported fuel 50 per cent higher in cost than the vegetable oil that is produced in local areas.

3. It is safer. Fire hazards are reduced to a minimum. Kerosene lamps have caused the destruction of thousands of dollars worth of property. The seed-oil lamp, even though carelessly



Harrison Forman

ON DISPLAY: The uses of the lamp range from usual illumination to heating and cooking.

whole city of Chicago was demolished in 1871 because a cow overturned a kerosene lamp?" Appeals were made to the national minded with, "Why contribute 12 million dollars to foreign countries?" Also, "Do you know the reason why the kerosene lamp is partly responsible for the short life of the average Chinese in comparison with foreigners?"

The Military Tests

Even before the current war started Chiang Kai-shek's military headquarters realized the possible significance of the oil-lamp as a factor in national defense. It was rigidly tested with cabbage, sesamum and peanut-oil, comparing it with a Standard Oil Company kerosene lamp. The test upheld the claims of the inventor and the manufacturers and revealed these advantages:

1. It burns 20 per cent less fuel per hour.

overturned, is unlikely to become inflamed.

4. It is more hygienic. The absence of poisonous fumes eliminates unpleasant odors and smoke.

5. It affords better illumination. The flame is whiter and brighter.

6. Finally it uses vegetable oil exclusively and cannot be used with kerosene.

In February 1936, with the threat of Japanese war breaking out anew, and as a result of the test, Chiang Chung-cheng, president of the military council, issued instructions to all the interior provinces ordering all government agencies affected to reduce freight rates, make tax exemptions and facilitate the widespread adoption of the new product.

No doubt the war has slowed up the rate of peace-time growth of the new industry, but already the soldier and civilian alike possess a lamp that is an indispensable protection from fire hazards caused by air raids.

LAWLESSNESS IN MEDICINE

Is there any relation between the high death rate from heart diseases and drug law laxity?

By NORMAN W. BURRITT, M.D. and HOWARD WATSON AMBRUSTER

IN 1935, over 300,000 persons died in the United States from heart disease, an increase of 59,000 over the total number of deaths in 1930 from this human ailment. For 15 years this cause of death has increased steadily in this country, from 159.1 to 244.9 per 100,000 population. It is now far in the lead of all causes of death, being double that resulting from cancer, which is next highest. One death out of every ten today is caused by heart disease. From 1910 to 1920, however, the United States death rate from heart disease did not increase although it did fluctuate during the World War years.

Many reasons have been advanced for this seemingly abnormal increase in deaths from this disease in the 15-year period during which our annual death rate from all causes has been decreasing from 1310 to 1090 per 100,000 population.

In the professional and lay press there has been ample consideration of the treatment of heart disease and of the types of medication administered, but little or no mention has been made of the quality of the medication as a possible cause of death, or its frequent impurity and lack of uniformity.

In 1927 and 1928, an effort was initiated in which one of the authors of this article took a leading part, to induce public and official recognition of what appeared to be an increasing laxity in the enforcement of the Federal Food and Drugs Act, popularly known as the Harvey Wiley Pure Food and Drugs Law. In this agitation attention was called to the absence of any enforcement of this law against adulterated crude digitalis and the digitalis medicinals, and to the possible relationship of such laxity to the increase of death from heart disease. Digitalis is the drug used very widely in treating heart sicknesses.

Attempts were also made to attract public attention to statements made privately by physicians declaring that they were frequently perplexed and disturbed when digitalis administered to

This article answers the following questions:

1. What is digitalis?
2. What does the Wiley Law attempt to do?
3. Do physicians ever claim that faulty ether is responsible for the death of patients?
4. Is the death rate from heart diseases increasing or decreasing?
5. Who is Henry D. Hatfield?

their patients did not produce the expected therapeutic results.

In February 1930 charges were made before a Senate Committee that illegally adulterated digitalis preparations were being improperly ignored by government officials and were a possible cause of a part of the increase in heart disease mortality.

Both Dr. Wiley and Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana took an active part in this agitation and in May, 1930, for the first time since the law was passed in 1906, a court action was instituted against a manufacturer charging him with a shipment of adulterated and misbranded Tincture of Digitalis. He pleaded guilty and was subjected to a fine.

Thus far medical opinion had been publicly silent regarding adulterated digitalis but in June 1930, extended public hearings were held by a Senate Committee on the Administration of the Food and Drugs Act. Dr. Henry D. Hatfield, Senator from West Virginia, who was also a distinguished physician, advised his Senatorial colleagues that:

"It is an established fact that digitalis, the old tincture of digitalis and the forms of digitalis on the market today, have no effect—that is, generally speaking."

Confirmation of Senator Hatfield's statement came quickly from a group of his professional colleagues when, in the July *Bulletin of the American Heart Association*, there appeared this statement:

"The most serious difficulty that the practitioner encounters in the use of digitalis is the uncertainty as to the quality of the drug. When a patient in heart failure receives comparatively large doses of digitalis and fails to show improvement it would be of inestimable value to the physician at that time to have absolute assurance that his failure to obtain results is not due to some peculiarity of that specimen of the drug."

Government Denials

Meanwhile, there had been vociferous denial by Government officials that there was any laxity in the legal control of the uniformity of digitalis or of any other drug.

In September 1930, a second criminal prosecution was instituted against a manufacturer for shipping Tincture of Digitalis testing only 40 per cent of the U.S.P. assay guaranteed by the label. Later in 1930, Senator Wheeler compelled the publication of certain secret Government records pertaining to digitalis and various other medicinal preparations, which revealed that no court actions had been instituted by the Food and Drugs officials on 24 out of 26 different shipments of adulterated digitalis preparations prepared by 21 different companies in the period between 1927 to 1930. Most of these cases had been placed in what is called "permanent abeyance" in the department files. These tests ranged from 33 per cent of the U.S.P. assay to 150 per cent; in other words, if a heart patient had been given the physiologic dose of the low test digitalis by his physician and the prescription had been refilled from a druggist's bottle of the high test, almost 5 times as strong, the patient would have been killed by the "remedy." The physician, having relied upon the supposed protection of the Government in enforcing the U.S.P. assay guaranteed by the labels on the bottles, was not to blame. Both bottles were falsely labeled, in definite violation of a criminal statute.

The official or legal standards for

preparations of digitalis and other medicinals are compiled and published in the United States Pharmacopoeia and in the National Formulary, and upon them pharmacists and physicians must depend for the quantitative and qualitative dosage from which prescriptions are compounded and administered.

These U.S.P. and N.F. tests are the legal standards for drugs and medicines under the Food and Drugs law, and this statute specifies prosecution and fine for the first violation detected on the part of a shipper of adulterated or misbranded food or drugs in interstate commerce, and a fine or imprisonment for each subsequent offense by the same shipper.

Another section in the statute permits seizure of violative merchandise through a court action called a libel, on which a decree of condemnation and destruction may be directed at the merchandise itself instead of at the shipper. Under libel action, the shipper is not punished, and in certain cases, especially those involving foodstuffs, the articles are first condemned as unfit or putrid, and then returned to the shipper under a bond to be "reconditioned" or salvaged, and again sold to the public.

In cases where the shipper cannot be identified, or other evidence of guilt is lacking, libel is the only control available, but criminal prosecution is mandatory under the law in all other instances. However, since 1924 the percentage of total criminal prosecutions under the Food and Drugs Act dropped steadily until by 1929 the ratio was less than seven prosecutions to each 93 libels.

In the early days of the Wiley Law, this ratio was at times as high as 80 per cent criminal prosecutions to 20 per cent libel actions; in recent years, it has risen considerably above the low mark of 1929 and 1930 but there are still more libels than criminal prosecutions.

The Score in Prosecutions

From 1931 to 1938, there have been only 14 court actions published relating to adulterated or misbranded digitalis preparations, of which one-half were merely libels against products of companies which have never been prosecuted for the offenses. Two of these libels involved digitalis preparations shipped by the same company and also included condemnation of preparations of 18 other U.S.P. drugs shipped by this manufacturer. One of the digitalis preparations included in the libels was found by Government tests to be practically inert; another special prepara-

tion of digitalis, made by a different company, was merely libeled though it tested 100 per cent in excess of the assay stated on the label.

As compared with these few court actions during seven years, the 1931 Annual Report of the Food and Drug Administration indicates that nine of the 61 digitalis preparations tested during the previous year required action, and the 1937 Annual Reports state



FOR BETTER MEDICINES: Senator *Burton K. Wheeler* has been in the forefront of the fight for strict enforcement of the Food and Drugs Law.

that 13 out of 122 digitalis preparations officially tested in the preceding year were found to be adulterated or misbranded. Meanwhile, physicians continue to wonder why one bottle of U.S.P. digitalis gives different results from another bottle, and turn from brand to brand of what is supposed to be, and legally should be, exactly the same preparation.

Anesthetic ether was another preparation included in the charges of lax enforcement and among the departmental records exposed in 1930 by demand of Senator Wheeler.

Prior to 1927, 13 actions, all libels, were recorded against adulterated ether and in some of these the bad ether was returned to the maker on bonds. From the official files published in 1930, it was revealed that in the years 1926 to 1929, over 900 cans of adulterated ether had been detected out of 6,000 tested, without either libel or criminal prosecution being instituted; also, that in a single year, 77 per cent of the tests made of one brand of ether showed adulteration.

At the hearings before the Senate Committee in 1930, the Chief of the Food and Drug Administration admitted that an agreement had been made several years previously by Gov-

ernment officials with the ether manufacturers not to seize or libel any shipments of adulterated ether; this agreement ended later in 1929 and seizures were then resumed. Since 1929, there have been published almost 200 different court actions involving adulterated anesthetic ether, of which only a bare half-dozen were criminal prosecutions. In the 1936 Annual Report of the Food and Drug Administration, it was stated that only slightly more than one per cent of the cans of ether tested during the year were found adulterated, but in the 1937 Annual Report the percentage of bad cans had risen to over 8 per cent and in numerous instances the impurity in the cans has been iron rust, or other substances which have no legitimate place in ether and are not the product of deterioration.

Bad ether presents a different problem to the medical profession than in the case of medicinals administered to patients in emergency or in routine dosage. Anesthetic ether is usually packed in one-fourth or one-half pound cans, hermetically sealed, which are not opened until the ether is to be administered to their patients, prior to, and during, a surgical operation. If the ether is bad and the patient dies, the surgeon is unable to make a test of the particular can used during the operation as the can is empty and no tests can be made of its contents. Under these circumstances no matter how certain a surgeon may be that his patient has died from the effects of defective ether, he is helpless to even voice a protest because of the actual hazard that he may be blamed not only for killing his patient but of attempting an alibi by falsely accusing the maker of the ether of an offense which the surgeon cannot prove.

Patent Medicine Control

Another type of looseness in the enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act, of special interest to the medical profession, is the inconsistency in the control of patent medicines. For example, out of a series of 25 different libel actions during the last eight years against various preparations sold for self-medication by a single company, for which admittedly false claims of therapeutic effects were made, only one has ever been followed by a criminal prosecution. Some of these preparations not prosecuted were sold as remedies for such ailments as syphilis, pneumonia, and influenza, and in all cases, the claims were preposterous. The family doctor, ignored by the

TREATMENT OF HEART DISEASE

HEART diseases usually need prolonged treatment. After any acute episode, even when a routine of treatment has been established, rest over a long period of time, with careful medical observation, is generally required, and the individual is rehabilitated only slowly. It is a common experience that many heart patients must be readmitted soon after their discharge from a hospital. The reason for this, in many instances, is the fact that, in order to make way for more urgent cases, they are discharged before their health is sufficiently restored. The net result is an increase in the number of days they spend in the hospital per year. An individual who has passed the acute phase of the illness could be transferred to the "subacute" or "chronic" type of hospital or sanatorium, for subsequent treatment.

One need only consider the case of the patient with rheumatic fever to understand that prolonged institutional care is necessary for obtaining the best practicable result. Many of these individuals require skilled attention for at least one to two years before there is a subsidence of the infection. Similarly, in syphilitic heart disease when signs of heart failure have appeared, prolonged conservative treatment is necessary. In hypertensive heart disease, when there has been cardiac decompensation, a long period of rest is indicated, in order to re-establish the cardiac reserve.

—*The Hospital Survey for New York*

patient when remedies of this character are relied upon, or called in too late after they have failed, is as helpless as are his patients when he is forced to rely upon a policy of law enforcement which at times ignores repeated offenses by a single company.

Several years ago, shipments of an elixir containing codeine were libeled by the Government—and upheld by the court—on charges of both adulteration and misbranding. No prosecution was ever brought against the maker for this offense. Last year the nation was shocked by reports of over 75 deaths resulting from the administration of another type of alleged elixir which had been sold by this same company, the product this time containing a toxic substance which apparently had not been tested by the manufacturer. Having escaped prosecution for the first offense, thus did tragedy result from a second elixir made by this same company. In considering the disparities between the number of violations in medicinals detected but not prosecuted, comparison should also be made with the much more rigid enforcement of the same

statute against those who sell misbranded cattle or stock food.

According to the annual reports of enforcement in the last six years, there have been 453 court actions for violations involving stock foods of which 365—or over 80 per cent—were criminal prosecutions. Most of these were for misbranding because of a shortage of a small percentage of the protein content claimed on the label of cottonseed meal or the like.

Those "scoundrels" who have sold a few bags of cow-feed slightly short in food value answer for their crimes by paying the full penalty of the law, but makers of adulterated ether and digitalis sold for doctors' use, or fake cures for syphilis, pneumonia, and the like, sold for self-medication, are in many instances neither prosecuted criminally nor even slightly annoyed through libels on their deadly concoctions. So let it be known that no innocent barnyard pig shall become sick because of a false label on his breakfast food, but when the farmer's wife dies because the medicine is not what the doctor thinks it is, or what the label says it is—well, that is just unfortunate, and per-

haps a new law can be demanded to put the doctor in jail when his medicine kills a patient.

The Medical Society of New Jersey, which is the oldest medical organization in this country, passed a resolution at its annual convention in 1934 urging a Congressional investigation of the sale of impure drugs and foods as a danger and a menace to the public health. Despite efforts which have been made to persuade its members to desist in their attempts to induce Congressional action upon this subject, similar resolutions have been passed by this medical society in its three annual conventions held since 1934, including vigorous opposition to the proposed repeal of the Wiley Food and Drugs Act, or the substitution for it of the so-called Copeland Bill, which gives enforcement officials complete discretion to ignore any offense defined in the law without even making it a matter of public record.

In March 1937, a bill amending the Wiley Law, prepared by a Committee of the New Jersey State Medical Society, was offered by A. Harry Moore in the Senate and by Frank A. Towey, Jr., also of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, where it is still pending.

Progressive physicians will demand a real investigation under oath before any change in the law is made. These amendments should comply with every legitimate criticism of the Wiley Law which has been advanced; also, by preserving the provision requiring criminal prosecution of the offender in each case where the evidence is available, it should be the purpose of forward-thinking medical men to prevent the enactment of a new law which would legalize the kinds of lax enforcement which the Wiley Law now reveals.

In January 1938, Congressman Towey, during debate in the House of Representatives, said:

"The history of the Food and Drugs Act, or so-called Wiley Act, would have been much more pleasant reading as to the convictions obtained under it if its very plain and forceful provisions had been carried out."

V. F. CALVERTON

Cultural Barometer

PEARL BUCK, in an address before the American Booksellers Association a short while ago, delivered a forthright and amazingly effective attack upon "the best seller craze" which has foisted upon American publishing most of the vices of a sales racket. Miss Buck's attack, though not the first of its kind, is the most recent and one of the best that has been made. As an author who has been frequently on best-seller lists, her words have additional challenge and significance:

"I wish to heaven that we could do away with best-seller lists entirely. The best-seller list is not a thermometer. It is an iron mold clamped upon the public mind. . . .

"We American novelists have not the consolation of novelists in other countries, that if we are not best sellers we are nevertheless appealing to a small select few."

In America there aren't any small select few, and if you aren't best selling you aren't selling, and if you aren't selling it's the worst thing that can happen to you not to be on that list. If you are a novelist—worse than that, you aren't making money—you aren't being heard in what you want to say.

"If you would refuse, as booksellers, to have best-seller lists or to support them, I am sure there are plenty of us who write books who would heartily support you. I know it has been tried, but I wish it could be tried again. Perhaps if author and bookseller got together to abolish it it could be done."

The publisher who has a best seller profits for the moment, with his best-selling book, but he loses on most of his other books because he has consumed so much of his time, energy, and money in making this book into a best-seller that he doesn't have enough time to give adequate attention and promotion to his other publications. Everybody and everything is focused and concentrated at the time upon the best-seller to the exclusion of everything and everybody else. The author loses because in a lifetime he has but few chances of being a best-seller with

any repetitiveness, and every time he is not a best-seller the sales of his works suffer. Every publisher wants to sell every book he publishes but at the same time he aims to sell as large a number of books as possible and when one of his books, like a verbal Man-O-War, plunges into the best-seller class, he puts his best bets on it and lowers or cancels his bets on his other books. The result is that the nonbest-selling authors are "out of luck."

It is the reading public, however, without being aware of it, which suffers most of all, for what happens is that it becomes so best-seller conscious that it buys relatively few books that are not listed in the best-seller class—and since relatively few significant books are best-sellers the reading public becomes a slave to insignificant and inferior literature. I have talked, for instance, to hundreds of intelligent people within the last ten or fifteen years who spend nine-tenths of their book-buying money on best-sellers; two or three decades ago those same people would have purchased "select literature," and prided themselves upon discovering an unusual fiction or a rare, unrecognized genius. Many of them would have spent money on the classics and re-read the works of Sophocles, Aeschylus, Rabelais, Shakespeare, etc. Today they wait for the best-seller lists to tell them what to read because they have no interest in anything which everybody else is not reading. In a word, they have lost their claim to individuality, to taste, to quality. Quantity, not quality, is their prevailing criterion.

And all this has resulted from the fact that book publishing has become a mass-production industry, like shirts, automobiles, shoes, toothpastes, and book-sellers. Publishers have managed to make books into a new form of Peruna, a kind of patent-medicine of the spirit. If a book can make ten thousand people happy, it should make a million, and all that is necessary is to find a slogan, a technique, by which a million people can be hypnotized into buying the volume.

In the meanwhile, good literature

suffers. Fewer and fewer people are interested in buying books that no one talks about. After all, in our mass-production world we are constantly talking about the most popular movie, the most popular play, the latest style—and now we talk about the most popular book.

A generation ago publishers concluded that every good book would find a market of its own, and that advertising and promotion though helpful were not fundamental; today publishers believe that a book will not find a market of its own unless it is given adequate advertising and promotion. Publishers have come to this conclusion because the present-day reading public has driven them to it. It simply will not buy books that are not being talked about and to get a book talked about means advertising and promoting it. In Emerson's day there may have been an element of truth in his contention that if a man in the remote recesses of a forest built the best mouse-trap that could be had, the world would beat a path to his door; today the world would beat no such path—it would buy the mouse-trap that was most widely advertised in magazines, newspapers, and on billboards. Unfortunately, the same holds true for books.

We have a larger book-buying public today than we have ever had in the history of the country and yet statistics would prove, I am certain, that we have a smaller book-buying public than ever for non best-selling books. In the end, everyone would gain if we undertook a battle against "the best-seller craze": the author, the publisher, and the reading-public most emphatically. It undoubtedly would take a little time, and some losses might be undergone by some publishers, before the reading-public would adjust itself to the new situation, but before long we should find a better reading public and ultimately a larger one. And most important of all we should find publishers able to publish better books at cheaper prices because there would develop a larger market for more "select" literature.

The Snow White Fiasco

It is doubtful if any film in recent years has evoked such enthusiastic and extravagant laudations as Walt Disney's "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs." Most of the critics shoved their condemnatory adjectives and adverbs back into their old kit-bags and dove down in search of all the superlatives they could find, most of them rusty from lack of use. Even Otis Ferguson, one of the best and yet at the same time one of the snootiest (or, perhaps, in fairness to him I should say, one of the most-difficult-to-please) of our cinema critics rhapsodized about the film and declared it was a masterpiece, or something pretty close to it. I looked in vain for adverse criticisms, and after I saw the production twice—I refused to trust my first impression—I wondered what had come over our cinema critics. The picture is an interesting experiment, is filled with episodes of delightful whimsicality, is well-handled scenically, is effective in its color-designs, and engaging and arresting in its caricatures and altogether magnificent preposterousness. But beyond that there is little to say. At least a third of the film is boring, needlessly and pathetically and unconsciously boring. Anyone with critical sense or sensitivity should have realized that here was a cinema which could have been a masterpiece if it had been "cut" in half, or perhaps better still into a quarter of what it is. One quarter of it is first-rate, of that there can be no doubt. But that quarter is where the dwarfs stop *dwarfing*, and where dear sweet Snow White, who looks like a pasty, sepulchral, sewing-pattern design scissored out of context, disappears from the picture. That the character Snow White is a failure in every way is undisputable. As a moving figure she is unreal, as a face and body she is absurd, and in terms of what she does she is ludicrous. The dwarfs are much better; their absurdity is acceptable because they are by nature absurd and one would not accept them under any other guise. But when the dwarfs decide to accept Snow White and obey her orders, they become shortly thereafter as boring as their mistress. The beginning of the dwarf section is excellent, excitingly original, but it is not long before the dwarfs become as boring as Snow White and by the time they finally complete the difficult job of washing their faces, I hoped a high wind would come along and blow them into a recollection. But alas, it didn't.

The English critics have greeted the film with much less enthusiasm than the American. Many of them have been luke-warm in their reaction; others have been frankly annihilatory; a few have been appreciative. The criticism which interested me most was one which appeared in *The New English Weekly*, in which the author, who signed himself P. T., declared that "Snow White for all its assumption of grandeur is a definite proof that his (Disney's) air-bubble has swollen to its utmost dimensions and that the Disney legend is in danger of bursting like the frog from the fable." The critic then goes on to add that "the same old tune is smeared over the film, unctuous and gluey as a patent face cream. The tempo, moreover, is hardly Disney at all, for the action is continually held up to permit of the heroine delivering herself of song or prayer or worse. I found myself longing for some old Mack Sennett slapstick to throw a pie at her head and speed the pace a little. . . . Another *Snow White* will sound the Disney death-knell."

Dangerous for Children?

In both England and the United States much has been made over the fact that the film is dangerous for children to witness. Many people who liked the cinema immensely were convinced that it would be a mistake to allow children to see it. They were especially concerned about the character of the Queen-Witch, whom they feared would frighten children and wreck their nervous systems. In that connection, the remarks of the critic from *The New English Weekly* are particularly pertinent:

The midnight hag is the best thing in the film. She is crude melodrama, the kind of thing children understand and enjoy. They are natural moralists and like to see wickedness painted in strong primary colours and so magnified that its ultimate destruction appears adequate and satisfying. To be in a position to say "I told you so," is a comfortable condition for anybody, and children, whose inevitable fate is to be so often in the wrong, find it particularly pleasant. The awful ends of fairy-tale villains give them an opportunity to condemn and disapprove and so balance their own heavy accounts with grown-ups. Those midnight terrors in the forest, the thunderbolts and lightning, the hellish brew and the eyeless skull, merely serve to brighten the eyes under the striped school caps. Spell-bound by such exorbitant mischief, the film's true horror escapes them.

Perhaps the most interesting criticism *The New English Weekly* critic

made of the film concerned the role of the animals in the cinema. His point, wrong or right, merits serious consideration. He attacks Mr. Disney for a distorted attitude toward man and animals and condemns him for what might very well be called *animalitis*:

Set a rabbit weeping, reveal a heart of pity beneath the tortoise shell, trump up a good deed for the adder and kind thoughts for the stoat and you have the password to the modern heart. And Disney knows it. The very pith of his secret is the enlargement of the animal world and a corresponding deflation of all human values. There is a profound cynicism at the root of his, as of all, sentimentality. The web is hung with dew-drops but the spider's in the parlour. Its presence there is instanced by Disney's handling of his humans. In dialogue and in drawing these proclaim with one voice his essential unbelief in humanity. The animal, being already on and of the earth, cannot be dethroned. On the contrary, it can be made into something too cute for words, so Disney, gentle shepherd, leads the lowly creatures upward. And bang, on the downward scale, go the luckless humans, crooning their way to perdition. And, when one comes to think of it, why not? In a word where rabbits are capable of tender love and the apparatus for projecting animated drawings is perfected, human beings, in any active sense, are irrelevant—in fact, in the way. It is much more fun to watch one pigeon cuddling another and exchanging endearments than to bother about human reactions under similar conditions. Up the animals, says Mr. Disney! And proceeds to set action to the word to the tune of "Green Grow the Rushes-o" with a cunning, childish, inconsequent air. Too, too sweet. Yes, indeed, a little child is leading Disney but it has not the pace of an angel.

The pity of it is that his motives are unconscious and his own unawareness blinds the eyes of his audiences. His genius in spite of its extraordinary entertainment value, is destructive, but he does not know it and it will be a long time before we ourselves begin to guess at it. If he were powerful enough to draw his bitterness up to his conscious mind he would move out of the world of easy laughter and become the best sort of social menace, a searchlight to disclose the essential emptiness of our house. There is no indication, however, that the hidden moralist in Disney will ever be revealed to himself or to the world at large. He is deep in his legend, drowned in it full fathom five.

More Seasoned Matters

Whatever criticisms might be made of the New Deal, no one can honestly deny that a large number of the Administration's projects have been of extraordinary value to the public as a

whole, as well as to the artists to whom they have given employment. In this connection, I am particularly concerned with the present Pepper-Coffee Bill, which I consider most important in terms of its promises as well as its implications.

What the Pepper-Coffee Bill, now before Congress, proposes to do is simple. It wants to see that the government establishes its cultural work upon a permanent basis. It maintains that the impermanent basis upon which it has been founded in the past has been detrimental to the artists, literary as well as plastic, who have been involved. Artists can do their best work, the Bill adds, only if they are assured of a steady and secure income. In olden days artists derived such support from patrons. The time has come today when the government must become the patron of art if it wants to give birth to significant artists and significant art. The Bill, in other words, is devoted to continuing upon a permanent basis the work that the Federal Arts Project in divers fields have undertaken, and in the light of the achievements to date, it is to be hoped that the Bill will awaken a positive response.

The Bill urges that Congress "appropriate funds out of the United States Treasury for the establishment and support of a permanent Bureau of Fine Arts." It then goes on to specify the needs of such a Bureau and details just what is necessary for its operation. Its recommendations are most humble. Its criteria are most laudable. As a matter of fact, its whole concept and purpose, viewed in the light of the work already achieved, are of the highest order, and there is every reason to believe that if the bill passes the American public will benefit by virtue of the superior esthetic effects which will be discovered in public buildings and public structures of all varieties. It was in this way that artists in many ancient countries were supported by the state and it is time that we learn to absorb some ancient wisdom in this respect.

Pursuant of the Periclean program of employing artists by the state, the American government aims to give work to American artists in the great job of beautifying the country. Already, as indicated above, autochthonous American art has developed a new quality and challenge. The American artist has already begun to realize that he is no longer working just for himself but for the community, for society. Just as Phidias dedicated his great art not to the exaltation of himself but to

the exaltation "of the gods," the American artist of today is devoting himself to the exaltation of the ideals of the country of which he is a citizen. Very often, it is true, his conception of what the ideal of the country is may disagree with that of some of the conservative die-hards, but that, no matter how radical, it is born of the country itself,

in this country. His work is even less known. Utrillo has never been a figure accepted in the *best* circles. He has always been too *Latin Quartier-ish*, too *Greenwich Villagy*, in his attitude, his philosophy, to satisfy the art dealers and the art purchasers. A strange, uncanny personality, living in a wayward world of vague hashish fantasy,



MASTERPIECE?: The English press was more critical of Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs than the American reviewers, who spoke almost entirely in superlatives.

cannot be gainsaid. The nature of the work he has produced is the best testimony of that fact. Teamsters, milkmen, machinists, men of every variety of occupation, are being discovered by the Federal Arts Project, as artists of latent significance. Just as in other countries where similar support has been forthcoming, which includes France, England, Soviet Russia, Mexico, the number and quality of artists has improved in proportion with the expenditures the government has made in support of art projects. Without government aid, for instance there would have been practically none of the marvelous Orozco and Rivera murals which have made Mexico today into a country of such marvelous artistic wonder and magic.

Utrillo: French Master

The announcement that the Denver Art Museum had purchased Maurice Utrillo's painting "The Church of Montmagny," a predominantly architectural piece of work, is important for all admirers of modern French art. Utrillo is a name which is little known

Utrillo, fascinated more by hallucinations than by reality, has frightened off most of his would-be admirers. Known originally as the painter of Montmartre, where in a score of cafes and bistros his work can still be found today, Utrillo has gradually become recognized as one of the most interesting and arresting of the French painters of today. "There is a legend" Pierre Loving writes, that on the famous hill of Montmartre "a number of cafe proprietors kept on hand tubes of colors, brushes, pencils, and canvases, so that Utrillo, a picturesque, indigent figure, could pay for his *consommation* on the spot by presenting the establishment with a quick drawing or color sketch."

The man Utrillo is unquestionably weird. The fact that he is a spiritual somnambulist, a man quiet and violent by turns, as unpredictable in his moods as the career of a storm, is interesting only as an insight into his character which is as wild as that of Verlaine.

His paintings have about them that paradoxical staticness of flux—flux in stasis, the rigid becoming rigidless, the fixed becoming fixless.

The Religious Horizon

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

THE inter-Church Conference was held in Utrecht from May 9 to 13 to lay the foundations of the World Council of Churches as suggested by the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences last summer. At first glance it would seem that this conference represented a much larger section of world religion than it actually did. One should keep constantly in mind that the news items which we read in our daily newspapers concern (as a general thing) only a small part of current religious history. In connection with this it might be of interest to our readers if we publish some statistics concerning the membership of the Churches distributed throughout the world. These figures are from the latest available information, provided by the International Christian Press and Information Service of Geneva, Switzerland.

The total number of Christians in the world is estimated at about 685 to 700 million. The largest group is that of the Roman Catholic Church, which numbers about 360 million, distributed as follows:

Europe	215 million
South America.....	60.8 million
North America.....	47 million
Australia and Oceania	10.4 million
Asia	9.2 million
Africa	6.8 million

The Orthodox Church (Eastern Christianity) numbers 145 million, (another estimate puts the figure at 125 million), distributed as follows:

Europe	110-130 million
Asia	8.1 million
Africa	5.8 million
America	1.2 million

Protestantism numbers about 200 million and Anglicanism 35 million. Together the two amount to:

Europe	120 million
North America....	100 million
Australia and Oceania	6 million
Asia	7 million
Africa	4 million
South America.....	1.5 million

This conference in Utrecht, representing the non-Roman Catholic Christian Churches, could speak for only a small sector of world religion. The largest Christian Churches in the order

of their membership are: Roman Catholic (360 million); Orthodoxy (145 million); Lutheran (84 million); Anglican (35 million) Methodist (15.4 million); Presbyterian (15.2 million); Reformed (15.2 million); Baptists (13 million); Congregationalists (2.5 million).

As regards the non-Christian religions, the I. C. P. I. S. statistics show that the two billion inhabiting the world are distributed as follows: 500 million in Europe, 250 million in America, 150 million in Africa, 12 million in Australia, and over 1,050 million in Asia.

Mohammedism numbers 270 million (180 million of them in Asia, 74 million in Africa and 15 million in Europe); Hinduism numbers 250 million, Jewry 15 million, Buddhism (India, China and Japan) 625 million. It is impossible to say how this last figure is made up. Shintoism is relatively scarce, since Japan numbers 70 million inhabitants belonging to various religions. Leaving out religions with few adherents, such as the Sikhs in India, there remains a total Christian population of 700 million. Membership of primitive polytheistic religions must be reckoned at 74 million and Agnostics at about 75 million.

Still, even though representing only about one-eighth of the world's total population, this Utrecht Conference holds forth to the world the ideal of all religious bodies (Christian) working together for the furtherance of true religion and the spread of right living among the peoples of the world. As the Churches represented at this Conference are able to lay the foundations for a World Council in which they can really cooperate—as they are able to set up a scheme in which the competition of different denominations of Christians will be eliminated—the spread of Christianity will be accelerated, and the proportion of the world's population which acknowledges the Lordship of the Man of Galilee will be increased.

Meanwhile the non-Christian religions are not asleep. Orthodox Hindu and Moslem missionaries are very active, especially in efforts to gain the 60 million "Untouchables" of India. Caste Hindus refuse to eat, drink or

pray with the Untouchables, but are beginning to show more interest in their physical and spiritual welfare, lest they be lost from the fold of Hinduism.

The Moslem leader in India has printed a spirited appeal in the "Light of Lahore" in which he says: "I am sure that if Moslems make a serious effort to win them, a large majority, if not all of the sixty million, will find salvation in Islam." But the Untouchables are suspicious and question the motives behind all efforts on their behalf, especially when such efforts are made by those who for so long a time have done so little for them. In a recent meeting presided over by an orthodox Hindu at which hundreds of Moslems were present at Nagpur, one of their leaders asked this pertinent question: "What did Islam do for us in a thousand years? What did Sikhism (a sect of Hinduism) do for us? It was only after the Catholic missionary came and took us to his bosom that others began to take notice of us."

Primitive Christianity

The great official daily paper *Isvestia* published an article on March 30 on the activity of the governmental commission for history texts books used in schools. This commission recognized "that the introduction of Christianity into Russia represented progress as compared with the pagan barbarism prevailing till that time. This progress consisted not only in the fact that the Russian nation received a literary culture, but also certain elements of the Byzantine civilization". . . . "The Christian Church devoted all its energies to doing away with slavery at the time of the predominance of Kiev." Later on "the ecclesiastics defended the right of serfdom which, it must be admitted, was not pure slavery." "The literary works brought into Russia by Christianity had not only a cultural and theological value, but were also marvels of style and of art as, for example, the Gospel re-copied in 1606 at the command of the chief, Ostromir, at Novgorod. In the monasteries of Kiev there were men who were not only writers of value but men of science." The article ends with a reminder of the architectural works of the church, notably the great cathedrals of Kiev and Novgorod. I.C.P.I.S. Geneva.

The Camera's Story of History-in-the-Making

NAVAJO NEW DEAL

By Charles Morrow Wilson

LARGEST of U. S. Indian nations (incomplete census estimate 59,000) and perennial underpinning to the Congressional pork barrel of Indian relations, the Navajo faces the future with one of the most formidable array of problems ever met by an American population.

Residents of a 17-million-acre reservation, principally desert and expertly described as "the most worthless land that ever lay out of doors," the Navajos face the reality of failing range and resources and a rapidly increasing population. (Popular folklore notwithstanding, the American Indian is anything but a dying race. His average increase is about 50 per cent greater than that of his white brethren and best available statistics indicate that Navajos have increased more than sevenfold since 1872 when the tribe was liberated from Federal retention at Ft. Rodondo to its present reservation.)

More than three-fourths of all Navajos earn livelihoods from owning and tending open-range herds of sheep and goats. Medium family living has been the marketable returns from 300 sheep and goats. New Deal reclamation policies now prohibit ranging of goats upon the reservation and are seeking to reduce Navajo holdings of sheep (long in excess of a million head) to 560,000 sheep units, an abrupt reduction of 58 per cent, which would leave an average of only 41 head to the Navajo family.

After New Deal relief expenditures of about \$12,000,000 on the Navajo reservation, the boundary extension bill, still languishing in Congressional red taping committees, has



Chee Dodge, 84-year-old Navajo spokesman and unofficial leader.

succeeded in increasing the reservation area by only about a million acres, 310,000 acres of which were bought with tribal money.

Apparently the average income of the Navajo family has dipped from about \$500 to less than \$300 a year, and hard times are reported by the 214 licensed Indian traders now operating posts upon the reservation. As yet only about one-sixth of one per cent of the reservation is under



Gourmets should be interested in the delicious tamales the Navajo wives bake in green corn husks.



Irrigation ditches are opened and maintained by Indian labor.



The Navajo is still America's ace cowboy.

irrigation. In mean rainfall the remainder is actually dryer than much of the Sahara.

Poor Navajos are growing poorer despite the efforts of John Collier, New Deal Indian Commissioner and former secretary of the Indian Rights Association, who declares that "the American Indian must be returned to his savage dignity as a people." Commissioner Collier declines to state whether this assertion has any bearing whatever upon the fact that the Superintendent of the Navajo reservation recently received from the Office of Indian affairs at Washington an assortment of twelve fencing jackets and three cases of bolo knives or machetes. Navajos are using the machetes as meat cleavers, but how to use the fencing jackets remains an Indian problem.

Faced with odds which white men might regard as ruinous, the Navajo is shaping a new tribal life. In the Shiprock, New Mexico, is an area of the reservation where the first irrigation water has made verdant garden farms of about 3,000 acres of desert. Navajo labor opens and maintains the ditches, and Navajo community clubs (the highly democratic Indian Farmers' Association) are entrusted with maintenance problems.

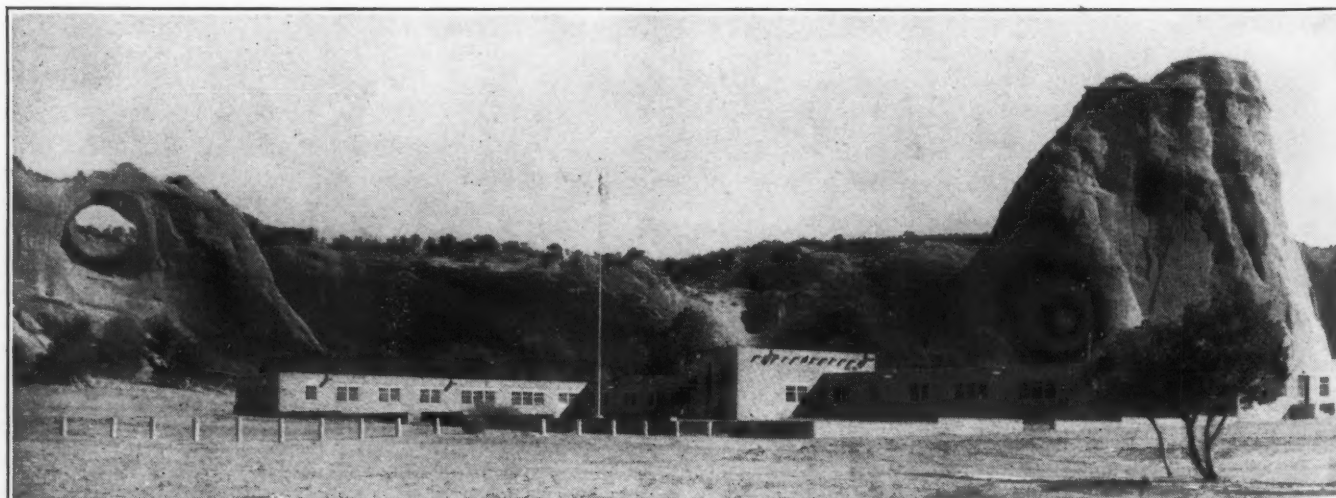
Navajo families chosen by reservation officials to occupy the new garden farms are required to give up sheep and other range animals and are limited to an average of ten acres for tillage.

Despite this abrupt change from a pastoral life to in-

tensive farming first Navajo harvests from irrigated farms show an average value of more than \$50 an acre, greater than the white man's average on the same type of land. As a modern agriculturist, the Navajo retains his beloved corn as principal crop. Though handmills replace the ancient handstones the Navajo wives still roast the ears in underground pits, devise gourmet's dreams in the form of meat and meal tamales baked in green corn husks and stage community bakings in which corn batter is poured into dry dirt pits and fired from above.

Corrals of gnarled native Juniper wood continue to replace white man's fences. The Navajo family head remains America's ace cowboy and though the men have largely adopted white man's dungarees, most of them still wear their hair long, band their foreheads with black or blue ribbons, wear moccasins instead of shoes, and ornament store-bought dungarees with belts and braids of hammered silver. Women and young children remain intensely loyal to tribal fashions and tradition. Navajo range practice sees many improvements—better breeding stock, regular dipping, supplementing ever scarce surface water with snow-melting devices and so on. These are some of the reasons why maximum of Federal relief to 59,000 Navajos has totaled only 829 individuals, but slightly more than one per cent and a meagre fraction of relief averages for white Americans.

Meanwhile at the ERA-built rock school house at Win-



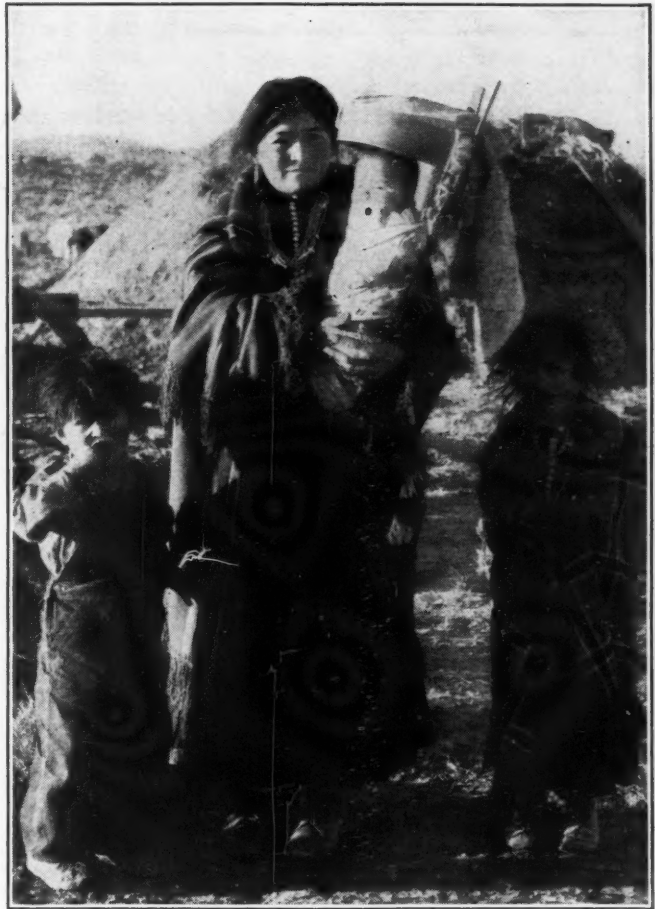
Indian school at Window Rock, Arizona, the new Navajo capital.

dow Rock, Arizona (new Navajo capital) an assembly of 68 Navajo delegates, principally "head men" or community leaders, have met to inaugurate the first tribal constitution in Navajo history. The Navajo language (oral and closely similar to North China dialects) has no word for "constitution" so the Navajos have coined the word "Say-as-elah," meaning "foundation word."

About 90 per cent of all Navajos are still illiterate in English. Thus the constitution assembly is largely an oral event. Voting is done by color ballot, a given color of string being assigned to each candidate. A Navajo drafting committee of five still labors with the tricks of whiteman's words, using a missionary priest as interpreter. Having been approved by tribal assembly the Navajo constitution must next receive the approval of the U. S. Secretary of Interior, after which the nation will seek final sanction by act of Congress.

The coppery constitution writers have produced one of the most enlightened state documents in American history. The tentative draft provides for a permanent tribal assembly to be elected by Navajo vote. Common term of office is six years and no tribal officer or assemblyman can be holder of a U.S. or State job. Office tenure excuses no man from prosecution for misdeeds. Prior to each election the tribal assembly will appoint a committee to investigate all candidates for character and competency and no Navajo can be a nominee without approval of this committee. The judiciary will also be elective for terms of six years.

The present reservation will remain permanent and communistic tribal property and Navajos claim the right to form tribal corporations for buying and selling any needed merchandise, operating mills or stores, mines or factories and caring for orphans, minors and aged within the nation. Devoted effort is also being made to check pillaging of Navajo funds by political desperadoes of New Mexico and Arizona who have repeatedly seized Navajo trust money for building roads, bridges and meeting deficits of no benefit to Navajos. Also to blot out recurrent collusion between



The Indian women and their children remain loyal to tribal customs.

the branches of the U. S. Department of Interior and Western railroads which have conspired to rob Indians of non-reservation lands. Conservative spirit and official compromiser of the assembly is 84-year-old Chee Dodge.



To supplement the ever scarce surface water, the Indians have learned to use efficiently a new snow-melting device.

THEY SAY

Translations and Quotations from the Press of the World

Acute Americans

The visitor to America who hopes to find, in the one continent which may be regarded as secure from military attack, a greater degree of tranquility and detachment from the conflicts of the world than is possible elsewhere, will be gravely disappointed. Far from being mentally isolated the people of the United States seem far more acutely aware than the average Englishman of the tension in international affairs and the dangers which are inherent in the present situation. They have a much more heightened sense of the immediate prospect of impending world war. The causes of this curious paradox whereby those who are most remote from the danger have the greatest sense of its proximity, is to be ascribed partly to the more intense vividness of life in U.S.A. and to the dramatic or melodramatic keying-up of news in the press and over the air; and partly to the efforts of the remarkable corps of foreign correspondents serving the leading newspapers and news agencies, whose dispatches give one the impression of having been written from the edge of a volcano in the earlier stages of an eruption.

—The New Statesman and Nation, London

Delirious Thought

An interesting new phenomenon may be observed on the checkered and changing surface of what is presented to the reader by the bourgeois press as the international political situation.

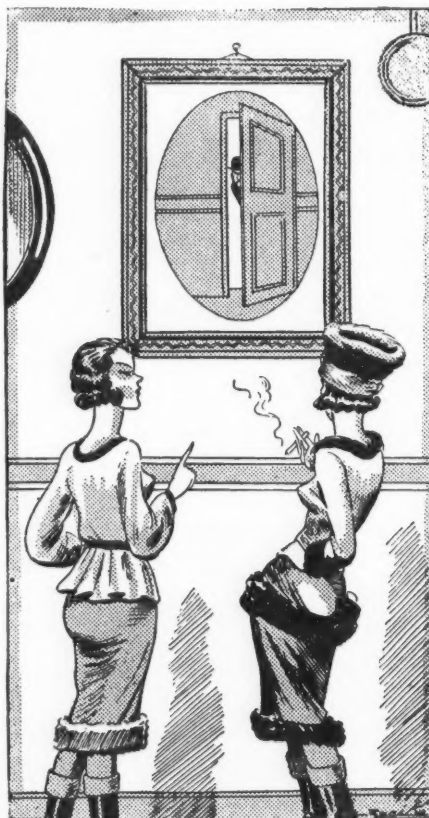
Here the Tokyo newspaper *Yomiuri* publishes a message from the American journalist Knickerbocker, stating that "Soviet airplanes from Vladivostok are able to reach Tokyo and other points in Japan in a few hours." This informed American from Paris recommends to the Japanese, in the event of a war against the U.S.S.R.:

"First of all to subject the Vladivostok airdrome to heavy bombardment. From this viewpoint Vladivostok is like a revolver aimed at the back of Japan, and Japan cannot rest so long as this revolver is not diverted from her. But it will not be so easy to divert it. A powerful submarine base has been established on the Russian island. . . ."

And so on, and so forth. . . .

Such is the American news from Paris on Vladivostok.

Behind all these agents, behind the Knickerbockers, stand their masters, the imperialists. They do not like to expose themselves, they keep behind the scenes, but it was to them that Lenin referred when he proposed "to explain to the people the real situation of how great is the secret in which war is born. . . ." International fascism is



Il 420, Florence

IN RUSSIA: Proud Wife: "That is the latest picture of Z-14, my husband."

not content with the huge fires of war which are already aflame in various parts of the world. It is not content with Spain, China, the smouldering fires of Abyssinia. It wants still another nice little war, and the sooner the better. If possible let the Soviet Union be drawn into a military clash.

Among those who are ordering and inspiring the present campaign of lies and instigations we recognise the rulers not only of the fascist states. The old wire-pullers of British imperialism, the old camp-followers who like to line their pockets at the expense of other people's fights, other people's blood,

the British die-hard conservatives, have undoubtedly taken a hand in the latest newspaper gossip and provocations concerning the alleged military preparations of the Soviet Union in the Far East.

The delirious thought that the Soviet Union will make war upon Japan in return for some guarantees of security in the west, this vainglorious cynical yarn could indeed have been conceived only in the softened brains of the British reactionaries. For it must be known from the reiterated statements of representatives of the Soviet Government that in the defence of its security the Soviet Union relies primarily on its own forces: the valiant Red Army and the invincible unity of the Soviet people. This is known to all honest people. Addressing the fascist gentlemen who were leaving the League of Nations because it does not encourage military adventures, Comrade V. M. Molotov, head of the Soviet Government, said at the Eighth (Special) All-Union Congress of Soviets: "But to speak quite frankly, as far as protecting the interests of peace and the peaceful labours of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is concerned, we put our real trust solely in our own forces."

—Pravda, Moscow

Italy Blames France

Now that the news is out we know whom to blame for the *Anschluss*: it is the *Quai d'Orsay*. During the conversations between the Chancellories on February 12th, the Austro-German situation had developed, with the consent of Italy, for the recognition of the political rights of the Austrian National-Socialists within an independent Austria. It is in this way, and not in any other, that Danzig and the Reich, with the consent of Poland, came to an agreement as to the role of the National-Socialists within the Free City. Did Danzig become a part of the German Reich for that reason? Of course not. The same would have happened in Austria. But France, seized with an attack of hysteria, started to intrigue desperately in Vienna and in Rome.

Who else but France could suggest to Schuschnigg the great idea, worthy of a vaudeville act, of a plebiscite with-

out electoral lists, without ballots, without even voting stations? Thus Germany, because of the fact that Europe has lost the gay spirit of the *Folies Bergères*, became seriously concerned with the plebiscite. And she had the perfect right to be, since she had also the power to enforce this right. So for the materialization of a dream which until now had only been insanely hoped



New York World-Telegram

A QUEER OLD BIRD IS THE PELICAN . . .

for, Hitler has no one to thank but Mr. Puaux, France's Minister to Vienna.

This brilliant Viennese improvisation was accompanied by diplomatic intervention from London. *L'Echo de Paris* tells that Delbos forced Halifax to induce Lord Perth to suggest to Ciano the problem of Austria in the name of the three countries—the three of Stresa. The front of Stresa in the ripe year of 1938 after the journey of Mussolini to Berlin! Not that the Stresa Front has ceased to exist because of that fact. No indeed, the front never existed except on paper. Italy used it for its action in Africa, and by rebound it was unavoidable that the Stresa front should be cut in two. Has not England betrayed it? In the article of its establishment, the recognition of Germany's right to own a navy was the first flagrant and serious violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

—Gazetta Del Popolo, Turin, Italy

League's Last Gasp

Thanks to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the League of Nations will still be of some use. . . . The diplomatic journalists called this proposition (the recommendation to recognize the Italian conquest) "an elegant solution." . . . And thanks to the League of Nations things

can be arranged so nicely that it would be stupid not to profit by it. England and France can not but help oppose the recognition of Franco. But if the League of Nations takes care of that England and France will have no reason to refuse. After which the League of Nations would recognize Manchukuo: later the annexation of Czechoslovakia by Germany, of Lithuania by Poland, etc. England and France, always respectfully deferring to the decisions of the League of Nations, would have to accept. In fine, what are the main objections to the Totalitarian regimes? That their acts are not legal.

The very day when acts of force are legalized by Geneva, the powers mainly concerned in legality, such as England and France, will be satisfied. Once upon a time the Dauphin was given a little playmate who always received the spankings because one could not raise a hand against the sacred person of the son of the King of France. This little comrade was called "the whipping boy." Thanks to Mr. Chamberlain, the League of Nations has been promoted to the glorious role of the whipping boy of the democratic powers.

—Le Canard Enchaîné, Paris

Franco the Angel

If you are to have modern warfare—for which this country is determined to prepare herself then you must take the consequences. And the references to

the open Bible at Eastbrook Hall (if so be that the Bible was opened at Judges vii., verse 20) would reveal the old battle cry: "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon."

To-day we have altered it so as to read: "The bomb of the Lord and of Franco"—or perhaps we are only to allow it to read: "The bomb of the Lord and of Chamberlain?" Whether sword or bomb, the results are much the same. What are not the same are the purposes of the contending forces in Spain. And to me, as to so many other Christians, it is clear that Franco is on the side of the angels.

—Rev. Frank Harwood, Yorkshire Observer

It's a Game

"Had Hitler and Mussolini been cricketers I do not think we should have had all this trouble that is going on in Europe to-day," said Sir Francis Lacey, for 25 years Secretary of the M.C.C., speaking at the annual meeting of the Wiltshire County Cricket Club, of which he is President, at Trowbridge yesterday.

—Manchester Guardian

The Two White Nations

There are few people who, as man to man, harmonise so naturally and easily as Germans and Englishmen of the same level of education. Shortly before the War an English Admiral at



HE CAN AFFORD TO TRUST NO ONE

Glasgow Record

an international naval banquet drank to his German comrade with the softly-spoken words: "To the two white nations!" That was not just an empty instance. Anyone who has witnessed a meeting of seamen from all parts of the world knows that this expression voiced the feeling of more than an individual.

—National Heft, Zürich

Polish Minorities

A conference for a "Polish-Czechoslovak Press Entente" took place in Warsaw in 1933 under the chairmanship of a high official of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a representative of the Czechoslovakian Foreign Ministry. The following decision was voted unanimously: "Polish-Czechoslovakian relations are developing in all fields on a friendly, real and fruitful fashion. In accordance with the clear desire of the two peoples the policy of the men in power aspire to a still wider and deeper collaboration."

At that time the problem of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia had not been invented.

The next year, on January 28, 1934 the semi-official *Gazeta Polska* astonished its readers with an article dealing with Teschen as having "been torn away from Poland." The diplomats accredited to Warsaw at first thought this must be an error. However in a few weeks they had to change their opinion, in view of a violent campaign

in the press against the alleged bad treatment of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia. Finally a campaign against France and the conclusion of the Polish German agreement gave an explanation to that which had appeared as an enigma before.

From then on the Polish campaign against Czechoslovakia concerning the Polish minority increased continuously. The cultural and social concessions made by Czechoslovakia, which shortly before, Poland had considered merely as insufficient, suddenly did not seem to exist. Any comparison between the standard of living of the members of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia and the population in Poland was considered an insult. The whole world noticed thereupon, that the question of the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia was becoming an instrument of the external policy of Warsaw.

The same spirit is apparent in the latest claims which the Polish minority made in Czechoslovakia. The organ of the minority *Dziennik Polski* writes naively: "As all nationalities (in Czechoslovakia) demand their autonomy we also demand it." But as it is impossible to justify the Polish demand by facts, they are being created. This is also the reason why the figures concerning the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia increase with foolhardy rapidity. Their number certainly does not amount to more than 80,000. And a German author, who by no means can be suspected of sympathy with his neighboring Czechoslovakia,

OSSERVATORIO DI MOSCA



Il 420, Florence

STALIN: The seismograph has recorded a shock. Is it an earthquake, or has the World Revolution at last begun?

NEXT-TO-GO: Neither, a Trotskyite has just blown another Moscow factory to bits.

Mr. Kurt Witt, estimates them to be 100,000. Three years ago Polish authorities spoke of them as 125,000. Three weeks ago, it was 150,000. A week ago, Poland's foreign minister, Mr. Beck, said to Mr. Ward Price, an English journalist, that there were about 250,000.

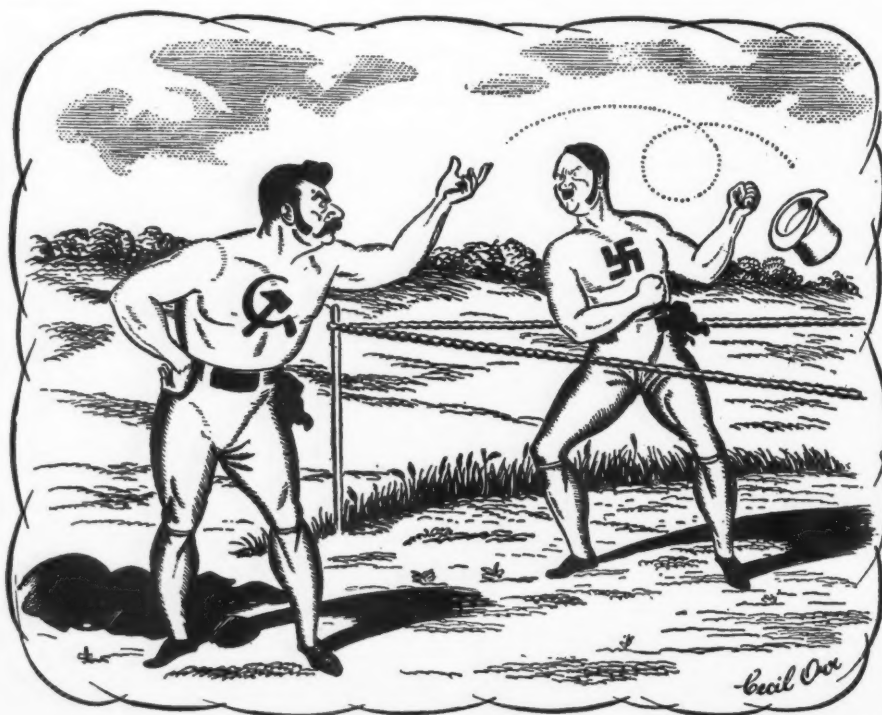
This rapid increase astonishes even Warsaw. It causes some fears, perhaps, among those who realize that Poland isn't a national state herself. Official Polish statistics maintain that of Poland's population, 31.1% belongs to national minorities, while Czechoslovakia has 33.8 per cent belonging to national minorities. These figures are based upon the census of 1931, the results of which are questioned even by the Poles themselves. Thus Poland estimates the number of Ukrainians at 4.4 millions while the Ukrainians say they are 6.3 millions. There are similar divergencies concerning the White-Russians and the Jews. Under these conditions a few questions may be submitted to Poland.

(1) Concerning the 4.4 million Ukrainians; have they less right to autonomy than the 80,000 Poles in Czechoslovakia?

(2) Can Warsaw answer the question whether there are in the service of the Polish State in Warsaw more Ukrainians than there are fingers on one hand?

(3) Is there an Ukrainian University; a request made by the Ukrainians for many years?

Finally, one could point out that for twenty years a bitter, bloody struggle has been waged between Poles and



Glasgow Record

HIS HAT IN THE RING

Ukrainians which has claimed deaths year after year. In summation, one could ask all those who understand the situation, whether one could really compare the rights enjoyed by the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia with those of the minorities of Poland.

—*Journal des Nations, Geneva*

Measuring Italian Jews for Persecution

"In one of our notes a few days ago we pointed out that the Italian press has been silent with reference to our publication of the *Protocols of Zion*.

Our purpose was very clear: to spur at least the greater part, if not all, of the Italian dailies to occupy themselves with a document which we consider fundamental because it reveals the plan of the Jewish International for the domination of Israel over the world. The *Protocols of Zion* is so basic that Hitler made it the breviary of every German since Germany, as much as any other country, was ruled by Jews before the war and Jews were the authors of the national disintegration of Germany after the war.

We were mistaken. Our press continues its conspiracy of silence around the "Protocols" and today, in taking note of our failure to break this silence, we must confess our gullibility. This forces us to assert that the aversion against publicizing the *Protocols of Zion* is extremely disappointing because it exposes the degree of influence that Jews and the friends of Jewry enjoy over our responsible press.

The newspapers to which we refer in maintaining that it is absurd to "wave the banner of anti-semitism," do not take into consideration that International Judaism is entirely united and is ganged-up ferociously against fascism and social order.

This explains Rumania's actions in view of this grave problem, and why other nations have felt they must close their doors to Jews of that country in contradistinction to their Italian co-religionists who fraternally and enthusiastically received many German Jews, offering them jobs instead of giving these posts to old fascist comrades who were thus "overlooked" if not boycotted!

While we are discussing this problem we must face the fact that the problem of International Judaism exists for Italy as well!

We don't want to say that all Jews are instruments of the Jewish International as a world organization. We want the facts to be made known: that Jews have an alliance among themselves based upon race and instinct no matter in what part of the world they may live! The history of two thousand years proves that out of this Jewish alliance has sprung the elements of dissolution of our civilization in every sphere of science, of finance, of art, of literature and sociology.

"We don't want to propagate racial theories," say our newspapers unani-



Das Schwarze Corps, Berlin

Beware Frenchmen! The Nazis are in Spain now. You will be next!

mously. But the cause of racial theory cannot be ascribed to Catholics but to the Jews! The whole Semitic press, and all the most important men of Jewry, have always spoken in the name of "Our Race" their race!

There is no problem of culture, of art, or of sport which has not been treated by the Jew from the racial point of view, not only abroad but in Italy as well.

Will anybody deny the indissoluble links of the Jews throughout the entire world?

Who of good faith can refuse to bear in mind that the Jews constitute a veritable Jewish World Parliament in Geneva? While outside of the League of Nations is an International Jewish Parliament to which delegates of the Jewish people are elected by Jewish Communities in different parts of the world and which exist as veritable electoral districts for this congress. Here is an actual International Jewish Parliament, the defense of which has been taken up by the representative of the Jews in Italy—Dr. Angelo Sacerdoti. Due to this world parliament the Jews represent a nation within a nation

in the various countries—and consequently in Italy also! A Jewish International within the Italian Nation!

Let us suppose that in Italy there were 43 million Jews and 40 thousand non-Jews: will a certain press tell us what under the circumstances would be the position of the latter even if gifted by superior endowments? Perhaps they would be used to punch street car tickets.

We demand a logical attitude flowing from a sense of sacred, even-handed justice! We demand that the 43 million Catholic Italians seize control of the most vital centers of the State and Nation. Legitimate representatives should be those who know their duty towards the Nation without links to any kind of International!

At least, in view of the sense of justice which has always guided the Italian people—or better said—the people of Rome, we can allow them (providing that the *Italianism* of the Jews was one hundred per cent) to enjoy a legitimate proportion of important positions but not a superior proportion to that enjoyed by the Catholics.

As the Jews represent a one thousandth part of the population, one concludes that out of one thousand positions, nine hundred and ninety-nine should go to Catholics.

—Roberto Farinacci in *Regime Fascista*, Cremona. (Farinacci was for some time the General Secretary of the Italian Fascist Party. He is one of the most violent among the Fascist agitators in Italy and is the owner and publisher of *REGIME FASCISTA* which is widely read all over Italy.—Ed.)

Even the Dogs

Fashionable ladies, why not have your little dog tinted to match your dress for special occasions? Lady has discovered process guaranteed harmless to the most delicate animal, prettiest pastel shades imaginable.

—Advt. in *Daily Telegraph*

No Other Reason

You will have noticed that ex-President Hoover went to see Hitler a few weeks back. According to an interviewer he told the Führer that every day he stayed in dictatorship countries, the more fervently he believed in democracy. I am told now that he only went very reluctantly to see Hitler. He said: "Well, they tell me I'll have to go. I don't want to see Hitler for political reasons, or personal reasons, or ethical reasons, or aesthetic reasons, or moral reasons, or social reasons. And what other reasons are there?"

—*Critic, The New Statesman and Nation*

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, Apr. 3 - Apr. 30

DOMESTIC

APRIL 3—The President, in effort to speed Reorganization Bill, tells House Leaders he is willing to accept the compromise amendment that would let Congress, by a simple majority vote, veto any reorganization order issued by a President.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull opposes a stay at home policy for the United States Navy. He broadcasts his desire for world wide protection of United States citizens.

Senator Harrison claims changes in Tax Bill have made it business recovery measure. Reforestation and other works listed in report on the CCC. Cost so far has reached total of \$1,920,000,000.

Secretary Ickes, speaking to Chicago audience, warns America that Fascism, not Communism, is to be feared.

APRIL 4—Admiral Leahy asks House Committee to increase size of battleships provided for in recently-passed Navy Bill, from 35,000 to 45,000 tons. Ships, if built, will be largest of their type.

Mr. Roosevelt signs bill providing for TVA inquiry.

House passes bill providing for loans to business with only minor changes in Senate's revision.

Senate adds \$40,000,000 to Army Bill, raising total to \$490,000,000.

William Green declares only solution to railroad problem is government ownership.

APRIL 5—Vice-President John Garner asks President to clarify his future general policies toward business, reassure industry.

Admiral Leahy says proposed increases in Navy would not be sufficient to assure United States of impregnable defense.

Senators McNary and Borah decline to serve on TVA inquiry board as Garner ignores Senator Bridges.

APRIL 6—Secretary Roper concedes that fear of New Deal's next move is instrumental in retarding recovery.

APRIL 7—Senate is told by Rear Admiral Cook that facilities for aircraft production in United States is inadequate for war needs.

William Green asks labor in Pennsylvania to prevent Kennedy from being nominated on the Democratic ticket in the race for Governor.

APRIL 8—One hundred and eight Democrats lead House of Representatives in voting to recommit the Reorganization Bill to its special Committee on Reorganization. Vote was unusually close, 204 to 196.

In a West Coast speech, Herbert Hoover blames recession on people's fear of New Deal's contemplated program.

APRIL 9—Tax Bill is passed by Senate. Included in measure, because of frequent arguments, is provision that income of future issues of Federal bonds should not be tax exempt. Bill provides for levies of about \$5,000,000,000.

Republic Steel Corporation is held guilty of violating Wagner Act during July "Little Steel" strike of the C. I. O. by National Labor Relations Board. Company is ordered to reinstate 5,000 men and are

held responsible for deaths of three strikers killed in the conflict.

APRIL 10—Pump-priming proposals are attacked by Senator Byrd as dangerous to Nation. President urged by Snell to pledge balancing of budget.

APRIL 11—President Roosevelt proceeds with plans for large scale pump-priming and Government spending as Garner warns that Congressional opposition awaits such plans.

In message to Congress, President proposes that legislation be enacted to help railroads in financing and operating. He suggests they solve problem before next Congress convenes but offers no specific aid in finding a solution.

APRIL 12—John L. Lewis declares Government should end "wishful thinking" and provide a "well planned" and "realistic" program to furnish work and aid recovery.

Secretary Hull, commenting on recent speech by Mayor LaGuardia, cites rise in trade as reason to oppose export subsidies.

APRIL 13—Senators stage revolt when President insists on retaining the profits and capital gains taxes.

Congressional group hears Mr. Roosevelt begin his fight for pump-priming as he reads recovery measure.

RFC Bill, allowing the bureau to make loans to aid business and recovery, signed by the President.

Postmaster General James Farley, speaking at a Jefferson birthday dinner, says Mr. Roosevelt will triumph over "mobilized die-hards."

APRIL 14—President asks for expenditures totaling \$5,000,000,000 and very large credit expansion to end recession.

Money is freed for spending as United States Treasury "desterilizes" its \$1,392,065,461 gold fund.

Wall Street indicates that President's monetary devices for his recovery program will meet with failure.

Secretary Ickes says PWA is prepared to rush projects in new programs as Housing Authority extends their plans.

A survey of American airplane factories discloses that production could be accelerated to enable the United States to export 2,000 planes a year.

In his Pan-American Day talk, President declares foreign aggression will not be permitted in the New World.

Secretary Morgenthau says that Mexican silver will be bought at Washington's price by United States as before.

Agriculture Supply Bill receives \$101,000,000 more from House for highways.

APRIL 17—Greater part of messages now flooding Washington are against spending.

APRIL 18—Dr. F. E. Townsend set free by President's pardon just before entering jail. Says that pardon vindicates him.

Navy construction costing \$1,156,546,000 meets with favor in Senate Committee report.

Jesse Jones, Chairman of RFC, explains RFC lending program; asks co-operation of banks.

APRIL 19—William Green broadcasts to England, says American workers will not sacrifice democracy.

President Roosevelt expresses approval of Anglo-Italian pact because it offers proof of the value of peaceful coercion.

U. A. W. A. pickets General Motors Flint plants in order to collect dues. Plants close.

APRIL 20—Report to Senate asks end of Surplus Profits Tax to relieve unemployment.

C. I. O. Non-Partisan League faces formidable challenge as A. F. of L. sets up competitive political machine.

Senator Nye flails Navy Bill as Sea defense line is urged upon Senate.

APRIL 21—In first speech to D. A. R. since assuming office, President Roosevelt urges members to instill in youth of America the same spirit of democracy that brought their immigrant ancestors to the New World.

APRIL 23—"Deficit spending" is denounced by the United States Chamber of Commerce. They offer own plan for recovery. Tax aid listed first.

Homer Martin says move will be made to avoid strike voted by Flint auto workers.

Virginia coal mine gives up 45 charred bodies of men killed in fire caused by dust explosions.

APRIL 24—Senate report declares fair treatment of business men is most effective method of reducing unemployment.

Henry Ford told by union that employees in Ford factories earning above \$1500 would buy Ford cars.

Jewish leaders adopt plan to settle 100,000 Jewish refugees a year in Palestine.

Senator La Follette warns of "revolution" that will surely follow arms expansion.

APRIL 25—Roosevelt asks for a "simple statute" to bar tax-exempt bonds and public salaries.

Representative Rayburn reads House letter charging "chain telegram" drive against recovery plan.

APRIL 26—President receives offer of co-operation from 16 business leaders.

Low cost housing projects given \$55,000,000 in additional ear-markings by the USHA.

Senator Borah tells Senate that enlarged Navy Bill is entirely unnecessary.

President calls Representative O'Connor to White House. Reported to insist upon passage of Wages and Hours Bill.

Roosevelt says that no representatives of the Administration will be sent to the La Follette conference.

APRIL 27—None of his ideas have been changed as a result of talks with President, declares Henry Ford.

Vandenburg seeks new arms parley as Senate foes of the Navy Bill block an early vote.

The U. S. Government is asked by business, labor, science and church groups to lift arms embargo against Loyalist Spain.

APRIL 28—The La Follette brothers launch National Progressive Party.

APRIL 29—Path of Wages and Hours Bill is blocked by Rules Committee as five Democrats defy President.

APRIL 30—Socialist leader Norman Thomas denied right to speak in Jersey City by Mayor Hague. Thomas deported to New York.

INTERNATIONAL

APRIL 4—Italy and Great Britain finally agree on treaty terms, including Italy's withdrawal of her troops in Spain.

APRIL 6—Pope talks with Cardinal Innitzer and causes him to virtually retract his appeal made for large Anschluss vote.

United States formally recognizes Anschluss and asks Germany to pay Austria's debts. France seeks agreement with Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania to protect Prague.

APRIL 8—Mexico receives a note from Great Britain demanding return of seized oil properties.

APRIL 12—War supplies are reported pouring into Loyalist Spain with Russia the presumable source.

Mexico tells Great Britain that seizure of oil companies is a domestic matter.

Fascist states are served warnings by two United States Ambassadors. Ambassador to Germany, Hugh R. Wilson, declared in Berlin that the German effort at self-sufficiency is a "fallacy." He points to the American reciprocal trade treaty as an aid to peace. Wilson also made it clear that the United States would fight if provoked.

Ambassador A. Steinhardt urges American nations to present a united front against Old World "predatory forces" that seek "new or lost fields to conquer."

APRIL 16—Count Ciano and Earl of Perth sign Anglo-Italian pact. By terms of accord, all Italian forces and war material must be withdrawn from Spain at the duration of the war. Great Britain, in return, promises she will work through League of Nations for recognition of Ethiopia. The two nations reconcile their interests in the Mediterranean, East Africa and Arabia.

APRIL 25—A three-year trade and defense pact is signed by Great Britain and Ireland.

Three British ships are hit in Valencia air raids.

APRIL 27—Mexican Ambassador in Washington announces that Mexico will reduce recently raised tariff rates.

APRIL 28—England and France reach agreement on defensive alliance with unified control during war.

APRIL 29—England and France warn against German attack on Czechoslovakia.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

APRIL 3—Insurgents take Lerida, city known as key to Barcelona, as troops push to within six miles of Tortosa.

Madrid suffers worst shelling of war when the Rebels pour 2,000 missiles into city.

APRIL 5—Loyalists form new Cabinet. Premier Negrin given portfolio of War Minister.

APRIL 7—Insurgents surprise opponents by capturing largest hydro-electric plant in Catalonia.

APRIL 15—Rebels reach Mediterranean Coast. Loyalist territory is severed and 22 miles of the coast is occupied.

Elbro bridge at Tortosa is wrecked by 48 bombers.

APRIL 19—Generalissimo Franco warns Loyalists that he has won war, warns Government to surrender or suffer consequences.

APRIL 20—Rebels fail to take Tortosa, shift attack to Castellon, take many border passes.

APRIL 21—Rebels report Western defense lines of Madrid have been cut as border areas are shelled.

APRIL 29—Loyalists block many highways as the fight for Lerida is prolonged.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

APRIL 10—Chinese troops follow up advantage gained in Southern Shantung as their planes drop pleas for their opponent's surrender.

APRIL 14—Japanese forces meet their first major defeat in modern war when Chinese rout large part of Japanese Southern Shantung army. Total dead exceed 42,000.

APRIL 27—Japanese officials are troubled over new war developments. Disagree on proposal to expand forces in China.

APRIL 28—Chinese leaders insist Japanese push in Shantung has shot its bolt and predict foe's retreat.

FOREIGN

France

APRIL 2—Officials declare refugees from Spain will be returned as soon as possible.

APRIL 4—Premier Blum seeking to rule by decree powers, proposes capital levy, revaluation of gold and registering of bonds.

APRIL 7—Senate rebuffs Blum on decree powers which caused rioting among the Leftists in Paris. Troops held in readiness to curb trouble.

APRIL 8—Premier Blum resigns after defeat in Senate. Daladier called in to form Cabinet.

APRIL 10—Popular Front stages demonstration as Daladier forms anti-Communist government.

APRIL 12—Almost unanimous vote by Deputies grants Daladier's Cabinet decree powers.

APRIL 13—Senate backs Daladier decree rule 288 to 1 as strikes continue.

APRIL 19—France sends invitation to Rome to negotiate treaty similar to one recently completed between Italy and England.

Germany

APRIL 9—On eve of his plebiscite, Chancellor Hitler claims divine guidance in his closing campaign speech.

APRIL 10—Greater Germany votes 99.08 per cent in favor of Anschluss, Hitler, his policies.

APRIL 19—Germany's Protestant pastors must take oath of allegiance to Adolf Hitler or be dropped. Country preparing huge celebration for Hitler's birthday.

APRIL 20—Birthday tributes to Hitler flood Berlin from all parts of globe. Army bares its might in an enormous parade but also reveals inadequate equipment.

APRIL 21—Iron fences are uprooted from public properties as need for metal increases. Foreign trade continues to drop.

APRIL 23—Germans express bitterness over Brazil's suppression of organized minorities favorable to Berlin.

APRIL 24—Berlin considers Henlein's speech last warning to Czechoslovakian government.

APRIL 25—Bürckel, Nazi leader, is appointed Austrian Dictator for one year and is responsible only to Adolf Hitler.

APRIL 26—Austrian edition of Hitler's paper reveals his desire to rid Vienna of all Jews by 1942.

APRIL 27—All Jews are ordered to report their properties for liquidation.

Great Britain

APRIL 2—Government formally recognizes Anschluss.

APRIL 26—Income tax rate of England is increased to 27½ per cent. Commons shocked as peace-time high is established.

Italy

APRIL 2—Pact with Great Britain in near future is considered certainty by officials here.

APRIL 17—Much relief is felt over prospect of peace in Mediterranean as British agreement is culminated.

Poland

APRIL 3—Warsaw files objections with Prague on "anti-Polish" activities by Czechoslovakian Communists.

Rumania

APRIL 17—Government attempts to halt terrorism in arrests of 100 members of the Iron Guard.

Turkey

APRIL 20—Central Anatolia suffers 13 shocks as 250 die from earthquakes.

APRIL 21—Death toll nears 500 while 50,000 are left homeless from quakes.

Eire

APRIL 21—Government and all opposition parties unite in selecting Professor Douglas Hyde as first President.

APRIL 25—Ireland feels heartily in favor of pact signed with Great Britain. Reopening of markets is met with rejoicing by farmers.

Czechoslovakia

APRIL 24—Henlein, leader of Nazis in Czechoslovakia, warns Prague to meet German demands and requests a new foreign policy.

APRIL 25—Czechoslovakia stands by her agreements and rejects Henlein's demands of orientation with Germany.

Russia

APRIL 20—Soviet refuses to permit further purges of collective farms and threatens purgers with severe penalties.

Mexico

APRIL 6—President Cárdenas orders 20 per cent of foreign oil sale proceeds set aside to pay for expropriated property.

Travel

THE SUMMER IN SCANDINAVIA

Norway

NATURE, which gave so sparingly of soil to the Norwegian farmer and so lavishly of scenery to the traveler, gave Norway the boon of the Midnight Sun. In that land you need not set your clock ahead an hour in order to catch an extra sixty minutes of daylight, for at North Cape the sun goes right on shining the entire night through, and even in Oslo, far to the south, all but two or three hours of the entire twenty-four are light.

If the Midnight Sun is one of the great phenomena of Nature, then surely the scenic grandeurs and the contrasts of Norway are another. There you will find mountain walls which climb a sheer mile out of ocean waters; fjords which pierce even more than a hundred miles into land; the greatest glaciers in Europe, rushing waterfalls, torrential rivers and vast, barren mountain plateaus. Or, if you wish, Norway will afford you idyllic valleys, sandy, sunlit beaches, quiet homes beside the quiet waters of a lake, for the nation has them all, has them in a profusion which beggars description.

This summer, in addition to its scenery, Norway is spreading before the eyes of travelers a great exhibition, which shows the industrial, cultural and artistic development of the country as well as its natural wonders. Built on the shore of the beautiful Frognerkilen, a bay of the Oslofjord, this Exhibition of Norwegian Life opened in May and will continue to September 18, as a highlight of Scandinavian travel for the season.

While the Exhibition will tell first of Oslo and Norway, the three other Scandinavian lands, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, have been asked to participate in it with special displays, so that it will have a truly international flavor. Their most outstanding contribution will be material for Nordic Building Days, which will review the modern architectural and construction progress of the four nations.

The industrial sections of the Exhibition will attempt to show graphically the part Norwegian industry is playing in world development. Norway is not

a nation which lives chiefly by fishing and farming, and Norwegians as a race are anxious to prove that point once and for all with this great display of their work in the fields of engineering, factory construction, and power development. Native handicrafts and peasant handiwork, too, will receive their share of attention, as special displays of the weaving, the knitting, and the wood carving for which Norway has long been famous will be arranged. Last but not least, the Exhibition will devote much of its space to travel attractions and scenery.

To provide accommodations for Americans visiting it, the Norwegian America Line speeded up the construction of its new flagship, the 18,675 ton *Oslofjord*, so that the liner will make its maiden voyage June 4, arriving in New York June 13 and returning to Norway June 18. The vessel will with that trip enter regular transatlantic service, so that Americans may travel to Norway's great Exhibition on Norway's newest and finest ship.

In tourist interest Oslo, the modern capital; Trondheim, the ancient capital and shrine of St. Olav; and Bergen, the gateway to the fjords, will this summer be the great focal points for visits to Norway. While there are literally scores of fjords, you can sample them best perhaps by visiting the Hardanger, the Sogne, the Nord, and the Geiranger.

Hardangerfjord is perhaps the most famous for idyllic and lovely scenery. Orchards and well-kept farms lie along part of its shore; scores of streams spread out from it; great mountains rise beside it, while in the background one may see the gigantic Folgefonn glacier, its silvery reflection sometimes mirrored in the still waters of the fjord.

Longest of Norway's fjords is the Sogne, which extends back into the country over 112 miles. Along it lies the Jostedalsglacier, spreading out over 580 square miles to form the largest glacier in Europe. This fjord is famous for its mountains, which in places rise almost a sheer mile above its waters.

Nordfjord has scenery which rivals in places that of the Hardangerfjord or

Sognefjord, and at its end lies one of the most remarkable roads in the country, one which ascends from sea level through ever-changing scenery to 3,700 feet, and ends once more at sea level, at Marak on the Geirangerfjord.

Many travelers consider Geirangerfjord the most beautiful in Norway, and to miss its Seven Sisters Waterfall would be to miss one of the finest sights in the country. Even the Geiranger does not, however, exhaust Norway's endless list of fjords, nor do its fjords exhaust its scenic attractions.

This summer, because of the Oslo Exhibition of Norwegian Life, because of the wide-spread interest here in Norway and things Scandinavian, those attractions will head the "musts" on many an European itinerary.

Sweden

"We are a small nation but we should think great things," says the motto engraved on the outside of the Nordiska Museum in the city of Stockholm. Those words sum up the Swedish people, for they are a race which believes in thinking and in doing great things.

Not so small a nation as generally believed, Sweden covers an area of 173,000 square miles and has the distinction of being the oldest country in Europe, ethnologically speaking. The present Swedish people are the descendants of the same race which settled in Sweden over 10,000 years ago. This centuries-old habitation of the same land has made the Swedish people a unified nation, has perhaps given them the impulse to create such great things as their noble Town Hall in Stockholm, such beautiful things as their delicate Orrefors glass, known the world over.

Stockholm, city of islands and bridges, is the focal point of a visit to Sweden. Over 1000 years old, the present city was built in the 13th century by Birger Jarl who considered the location a natural protection against the ravages of Baltic pirates. Gradually expanding, the city spread out over more and more islands until today it is divided into an Old Town and New Town.

Dominating the Old Town and facing the New rises the Royal Palace, which has stood watch over the city for more than a century. The austerity of its northern facade symbolizes the strength and simplicity of her people; the decorations of the southern facade their artistry and industry.

In the New Town the architecture of the Town Hall offers an interesting contrast to the Royal Palace. Considered one of the finest buildings in Europe, this masterpiece of modern architecture confirms the excellence of the Swedes as master builders. From the frescoes of the interior to the wrought-iron gates outside, everything in the building is the product of the country's handicrafts and reveals the exceptional civic pride of the people.

The bustling city of Stockholm, characteristic of Swedish energy and ability, is yet by no means the only city of activity in Sweden. Gothenburg, for example, other terminal of the Gota Canal and home port of the Swedish American Line, is a busy seaport and manufacturing town.

Like Stockholm, Gothenburg is a "water city." When Gustavus Adolphus decided to build a seaport there, he summoned experts from Holland, who constructed the city just as they would make a town in their own land—with canals, straight streets, and a large moat. Today the moat is a waterway bordered with trees, the old walls of the city are a beautiful esplanade, but even now most of the canals remain.

City of shipyards and factories, its wharves lined with cargo vessels, coast steamers, timber boats, fishing smacks, and ocean liners, Gothenburg has its chief glory, in the eyes of its inhabitants and visitors alike, not in those things but in its avenues of trees and its parks. Often called the City of Donations, most of its social and cultural institutions have been made possible by private generosity, and it has a donation fund of about a quarter of a million dollars, the income of which is used for beautifying the town.

Gothenburg and Stockholm are the best examples of Sweden today, but no tour of the country is complete without a trip to Dalecarlia with its old-world beauty and charm. For there visitors may get a glimpse of the Sweden of yesterday, not in dull or musty museums, but in the living customs of the people.

Dalecarlia still has red log cabins, whitewashed village churches, women and girls in bright native costumes, farmers who row to church in long boats. On June 23 the Midsummer

Night festival of the province brings memories of a pagan past lost now in the mists of time.

Though many who are in Sweden during June plan to be in Dalecarlia during this Midsummer celebration, the festival has not yet been spoiled by overwhelming mobs of tourists. All the freshness of the ceremony remains. Newly-cut birch trees wreath each doorway, a pole bound with birch boughs stands in or near the village, and the people arrive from miles around for a dance which puts American dance marathons to shame.

From midnight to morning men and women, boys and girls circle the pole, dancing, singing, and clapping their hands so that it seems these staid, solid country folk have lost their reason entirely. This is also the one time of the year when men turn out in their native full-dress suits with yellow buckskin breeches, flowered waistcoats, and wide-brimmed hats, while women wear their full regalia with the full skirts, silver pins, and embroidered bodices which make them appear the loveliest women in the world.

Finland

The World War put Finland on the geographical map; its habit of paying debts first brought it to the attention of Americans, and now its thousands of lakes and its virgin countryside are finding for it a place on the itineraries of travelers.

If the Indians had named Finland, they would have called it "The Land of Many Waters." Sixty thousand lakes, one of them the largest in Europe, dot its surface; mighty rivers roar over its sea, carrying with them hundreds of thousands of logs; 80,000 islands are sprinkled along its seashore and through its inland waters.

Add to this the fact that Finland has deep forests, fine fishing, cities as modern as any in the New World, and you will understand why Americans are slowly becoming aware of this new land, why a hundred come to it today compared with ten, fifteen years ago.

A trip through Finland properly begins at Helsingfors, or Helsinki, the capital. A chain of islands seems to block the city off completely from the sea, but when the last channel is negotiated, the steamer swings into a great harbor, around which the city spreads in a semicircle. No docks are needed here, for the water is so deep that boats anchor at the quay edges and passengers disembark right on the streets.

Interesting as it is, Helsingfors, one

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Saturday Review of Literature

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of the most modern cities of Europe, can not compete in fascination with Finland's lakes and waterways. Small steamers cruise for hundreds of miles on them, now passing islands covered with pine, spruce, birch, fir, now stopping at crude docks to pick up a passenger or freight, now voyaging through a channel so narrow that branches of trees on shore brush the boat. Occasionally the steamer stops a short while for fuel—not coal, but logs of wood, for Finland is one of the greatest timber-producing countries in the world, and locomotives as well as steamers there are wood-burning.

A thrill that travelers in Finland never forget is shooting the rapids of the River Oulujoki in one of the boats which once transported tar. Sixteen passengers take their places in the boat, a steersman guides the craft with a large paddle and almost before one knows it the boat is sucked into the breakers of the rapids. Great, tumbling waves catch it up, it heads for a stone bank, only to be guided away by the adroit steersman, cascades threaten to engulf it, and on every side the waters roar deafeningly. The descent is breathless, though it lasts only a few minutes.

Imatra, in the southeastern part of Finland, is the greatest cataract in the world, a narrow cut through which roar the waters drained from thousands of square miles. Near Imatra is the largest lake in Europe, Lake Ladoga, forming part of the boundary between Russia and Finland. Thirty miles out in it, on a beautiful group of islands, is the only Russian monastery now serving a religious purpose.

Before you end your stay in Finland, make an excursion to that monastery. Three times a week a boat manned by monks in long hair, great beards, high boots, and flowing black coats docks at Sortavala to pick up freight and passengers for it. A hotel is kept for visitors to the island, but while it may seem luxurious to the simple, hard-working monks, it hardly comes up to American expectations.

The Travel Editor
will be glad to
answer your queries.

Write to

CURRENT HISTORY

Travel Department

If you want an unusual experience, spend the night there—but don't say we failed to warn you, for you will find that your bed will be merely a platform of wood, over which a thin mattress is laid. And the pillow? Well, the pillows are nothing more or less than small wooden blocks!

Denmark

One of the social departments in which the Danes are marvelously advanced is the fine art of enjoying a summer vacation. It must be taken into consideration, however, that they have a superb layout of sea and land in which to employ this talent.

Denmark's area is approximately the size of Massachusetts and New Hampshire combined, but has a million less population. One can comfortably motor the length of the nation in a day. It is a country of rolling moors and heaths rising to an altitude of 520 feet at the highest point, and is intersected and invaded everywhere by bays and sounds and fjords of the North Sea and the Baltic. Many voyagers from the United States to Denmark land at Copenhagen, so far to the east that it is only an hour's ride on the ferry from Sweden, but the logical description of the region's summer playlands begins on the shores of the North Sea at the other side.

From Fano, near the landing place of the tourist steamers from England and Dunkerque, to the Skaw, that very fashionable resort at the extreme north-

ern tip of Denmark, runs 175 miles of as fine a bathing beach as can be found anywhere. Back of the long white beaches are long rows of tumbled sand dunes, and behind that rise the gorse and flowering heather covered moorlands of interior Jutland. This is a great territory for campers and hikers. They can find hundreds of clean and attractive places to pitch their tents; the country is natural and picturesque and excellent motor roads network the uplands. Parties of wanderers, foreign and domestic, take full advantage of the opportunity. Many of them are vacationing on the ubiquitous bicycle. They ride and tramp in a temperature like that of Maine in the summer and swim in waters considerably warmer than those of New England.


Wayfarers who speak only English have little trouble in getting directions in their own tongue; Denmark is near England, and once ruled it, in fact, and although it is an agricultural land with as many cows as people, the Danes are a seagoing race, and pick up strange languages in many ports.

On the other coast of the peninsula the physiography is similar, although its beaches cannot equal the magnificent extent of the North Sea salient. Next one comes to the jig-saw of islands and sounds that lie between Denmark and Sweden, 12,000 square miles of glorious yachting grounds.


Copenhagen, largest Baltic capital, and spotless and neat and wholesome as only a Scandinavian city can be, has

often been called variously the Paris of the North, the Chicago of the North, the Athens of the North, and the Venice of the North. It is a highly maritime place, bustling and modern, very intellectual and academic with its famous old university and at the same time gay, vivacious, and much addicted to night clubs and sidewalk cafes. One side of life in Copenhagen is pictured in the Flower Market and the Fish Market. In both the vendors are all peasant women. The fishwives sell only live and flipping merchandise, and are as adept at racy slang and repartee as their sisters of London's Billingsgate. The flower sellers are all Amager women from just across the inlet. They raise their own flowers while their husbands are at work in the shops and mills, and arrive in wide-winged white hats to delight tourists with a picture set in a splendid background of the city's Danish Renaissance and Gothic architecture.

Three characteristics of Denmark that impress most American visitors are the impressive oldness of the country, the ship-shape state of repair everywhere, and the remarkable way in which the little nation has adapted itself to comfortable, sane, good-natured existence under modern industrial conditions. The Danes, with no exceptional economic wealth as a foundation, have refused to allow slums to grow in their cities, won't quarrel among themselves nor with their neighbors, and while retaining the title of



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the oldest kingdom in Europe have evolved a form of government that is truly democratic.

Evidences of the great age of this kingdom, which flies the oldest flag insignia in the world, greet travelers everywhere. Viking barrows and stones with Runic inscriptions are found over the whole country, and the museums contain the actual boats of the Danish sea raiders of 1000 years ago. One craft in which a chieftain and his horses had been buried was dug up recently, and as it was too fragile with age to be moved, a glass building was erected over it right in its excavation. Even the trees in Denmark attain to fabulous ages; one giant old oak is credited with 1000 years of life, and it looks its age.

Old castles appear everywhere on the granite sea headlands and inland hills of Denmark. No part of Europe is better supplied with this adjunct of scenery. Another kind of dwelling, the successor of the rather uncomfortable fortified house of remoter times, is the manor, and that is even more numerous than the castle. A great many of the manor houses, artistic and picturesque structures, are still in use. There is no sharp line of demarcation between the aristocratic manor houses and the better type of ancestral farm home; a visible indication of the little old kingdom's robust democracy. Rooms may be seen in either kind of home that are guaranteed to thrill any student of interior decoration.

NOTES ON AUTHORS

(Continued from page 1)

★ The spending of public moneys is one function upon which the editorial writers cannot agree even among themselves. **Burt McConnell**, however, brings in the returns. Nor is he surprised by the results. In fact, he has read so many newspaper editorials that he feels himself immunized, even against the bite of a mad dog.

★ **Karl van Gelderland** is a German. He is a quiet person who smiles easily. Until Hitler's rise to power he labored for the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

★ In Seattle, labor flew very high, and is now in the process of alighting. **R. L. Neuberger**, a West Coast newspaperman, explains labor's present dilemma.

★ **Harrison Forman** is an explorer, writer, and photographer. At present, he is in China. On his last trip to the East, he collected data on a subject that apparently has all China talking. It is a new lamp that may soon break the bonds of Chinese enslavement to foreign oil companies.

The World Today in Books

(Continued from page 5)

London's Black Fog

Lewis Mumford's optimism in viewing the future of the city is respectfully referred to Robert Sinclair for what it is worth. Mr. Sinclair is the author of the not-too-optimistic *The Big City*, or a study in black of London. The author feels that there is much about London that is not generally known by the rest of the world. That, for example, it is little better than a death trap for most of its inhabitants, especially in the poorer sections where infant mortality is 74 per cent higher than the usual middle-class district, where milk distributed in schools is far below the general standards, and where almost 90 per cent of a group of school children selected at random had misshapen, rickety bones.

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that Mr. Sinclair would hesitate before advising anyone to select London as a place of permanent residence. The living is far from healthy, the housing accommodations crowded and unpleasant, the transportation facilities poor, the education ineffective and frequently misdirected, the food subject to frequent contamination. All in all, it is a pretty dusty, dirty city, caring little for the needs of most of its people and apparently even less for its own future.

Mr. Sinclair has turned up London's carpets and looked in its corners, revealing a great deal of unpleasant-looking stuff which most visitors never thought existed. Only last year this department examined *London: The Unique City*, by Steen Eiler Rasmussen, a pleasant historical account

of what appeared to be a pleasant city of spacious parks and ample recreational facilities. Can it be that Mr. Rasmussen saw something of the sun in London and Mr. Sinclair nothing but the fog? Or is it possible, as seems more likely, that each author found what he did by looking in the only places where it could be found.

Neutrality Study

Charles C. Tansell has written our most comprehensive analysis of America's neutrality policy in the years immediately preceding the World War; the accomplishment is all the more remarkable when it is considered that there is no scarcity of competent historical material on the subject. Dr. Tansell, Albert Shaw Lecturer in Diplomatic History at Johns Hopkins University in 1931, spent a decade gathering research for the work, *America Goes to War*. He has considered the most vital questions facing the pre-War Wilson Administration, and, without attempting to prove any particular point or draw any specific interpretations, has assembled his research in orderly and documented fashion.

There is ample evidence in *America Goes to War* to support Charles Seymour's contention that above all else, unrestricted submarine warfare was responsible for American intervention on the side of the Allies. Yet there is other evidence here indicating that the Administration's stand on submarine warfare definitely committed it to action. There is also some satisfaction in Dr. Tansell's book for those who have held that President Wilson—whom Andrew Carnegie predicted would "rank the greatest hero of all"—had followed advice which from the start pointed to war, that our "neutrality" policies gave evidence of their unworkability early in his administration.

Questions and Answers

Questions on Page 5

1. The Balearic Islands belong to Spain.
2. They are located in the Mediterranean Sea.
3. Majorca.
4. Italy.
5. They dominate the Western end of the Mediterranean Sea.
6. Manuel Azana.
7. Madrid and Barcelona.
8. Zaragossa is the name of both a city and province in Spain.
9. Formosa lies East of China and is owned by Japan.
10. Greenland.
11. Tycoon is out of place.
12. The Cagoulards are a secret order in France, accused of plotting against the government.
13. Mr. Edsel Ford.
14. Senator Pat Harrison.
15. William Henry and Benjamin Harrison were Presidents of the U. S.; Carter Harrison was Mayor of Chicago.
16. Martin L. Davey.
17. He was a tree expert.
18. A mythical ruler of the sea demons.
19. The Byrnes law prohibits the transportation of a strike-breaker from one state to another.
20. Washington (D. C.) is over 50 times as large.

Farewell to isms

In reviewing *Our Country, Our People, and Theirs*, this department is in a somewhat embarrassing position, for the author is also publisher of *Current History*. Praise of M. E. Tracy's new work might be construed as the better part of discretion or even expediency; criticism as a strained attempt to appear "uninfluenced." Under the circumstances, therefore, the reviewer will attempt to avoid an opinionated appraisal as far as is possible and will limit his discussion of the book to a statement of its content and scope.

Our Country, Our People, and Theirs was written out of an acute need for a factual basis of comparison of the United States with the three other structures of government, most of whose proponents have seldom strayed beyond the vague sphere of ideological argumentation. What, after all, does fascism, nazism, communism—as typified by Italy, Germany, Russia—offer that American democracy does not? Beneath all the talk and the bluster, what can the Dictators actually do for the average citizen? More than that: what are they doing? The German experiment is five years old; the Italian sixteen; the Russian twenty; the American one-hundred and fifty. What have been the experiences—for better or worse—of each one?

This, in brief, is the theme of the work. It makes no attempt to moralize, to champion any cause, to grind any axe. The author has assembled a mine of factual information on actual living conditions, business, labor, education, health, finance, transportation, recreation, communication, etc. on each of the four countries. Each country is discussed independently in parallel columns, so that in reality the work is four books in one.

The format represents an interesting innovation in bookmaking. The dimensions are slightly larger than the large magazine sizes; the book is printed in four columns so that each country may be consulted separately and as an aid to ready-reference. The numerous illustrations, by Richard E. Falconer, give the book added value. Almost a story in themselves, the artist's drawings make use of attractive symbols and have a strong graphic quality.

The book's objective treatment gives increased emphasis to this conclusion by the reader: advocates of nazism, fascism, or communism cannot, on the basis of the successes and failures of the governments represented by those

doctrines, say with accuracy that democracy has failed or that their own isms point the way to a better life.

Agrarian Rebel

Within the memory of Thomas E. Watson lay the old South: a land of agricultural serenity, self-contained and self containing. After reading C. Vann Woodward's biography, *Tom Watson*, there can be little doubt that Tom Watson's struggles, his small victories, his crushing defeats stemmed directly from these recollections of his childhood.

The swift-moving currents of the Reconstruction South, particularly in harassed Georgia, gave Watson, as it gave many other opportunistic young men at that time, a headlong start in politics. Passing the bar examinations in 1875, at the age of nineteen, the youthful lawyer began his practise in Screven County only to find business so dull that he was forced back into an earlier occupation—teaching school. Nearly a year later "destiny turned the corner," and he began again in Thomson, the seat of McDuffie County's government.

Tom Watson loved his profession. Whether this was because of its deeper meanings; because it permitted him to indulge his strong histrionic leanings, or because of the fact that he shortly began to know the feel of a solid financial position, seems a little debatable. Probably there was a good deal of each.

Mr. Woodward's carefully-prepared biography leads us to feel that, but for chicanery, foul play, intimidation, terrorism and plain murder, the People's Party might have prevailed. Ideals, however, appear to have no place in politics, and after sixteen years of unremitting battle against overwhelming odds, Populism went down to defeat—and with Populism fell Tom Watson.

The later life of Watson is far less to be admired or respected. Of all those who screamed for the death of Leo Frank, he stood foremost; and he came to be known at last as an inciter of mob violence, an exponent of race hatred and religious bigotry. Perhaps the years of frustration had had their effect upon his mind and took their bitter toll.

The source material is thoroughly credited, much of it coming from original manuscripts and scrapbooks. Mr. Woodward has written the story of the life and death of a personality—in some respects a great personality, in every respect an interesting one, and with this story appears the death of a mode of living; Southern agrarianism. A double tragedy.

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